00111606

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 26 March, 2016

SELECT

BIOGRAPHIES.

EDITED FOR THE WODROW SOCIETY,

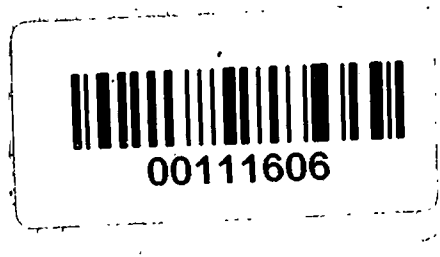
CHIEFLY FROM MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE FACULTY OF ADVOCATES.

BY THE REV. W. K. TWEEDIE.

VOLUME FIRST.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR THE WODROW SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.XLV.

God.
920.02
Twe/Sel
111606



THE EDINBURGH PRINTING COMPANY,
12, South St David Street.

111606

PREFACE.

IN preparing this volume of SELECT BIOGRAPHIES for the Members of the WODROW SOCIETY, the principle of selection adopted was that of singling out individuals who acted a prominent part in their eventful times, but whose histories were not so generally known as it appeared they ought to be. Acting on this principle, chronological order has in general been followed, and the LIFE OF JOHN WELSH readily occurred as the most appropriate for commencing the Series. The present Memoir is a reprint of the Life first published at Edinburgh, by George Mosman, in 1703; and universally ascribed to the Rev. James Kirkton, himself a sufferer in those troublous times, and related by marriage to Welsh. But it must be confessed that the Life is neither so full of incident, nor so satisfactory in its details, as the character of him who forms its subject demands. Indeed, it may be regarded rather as sketching some passages of Welsh's history, than as presenting a full delineation of his character, and the Life of John Welsh has yet to be written.

To compensate, in some degree, for the meagreness or defects of the work here reprinted, an attempt has been made to collect, from various other sources, facts which were unknown to Kirkton, or unnoticed by him, and to introduce them as notes to the work. The Members of the WODROW SOCIETY are thus presented with all that is easily accessible, or accurately known, of one who certainly ranked among the most remarkable men of his time, at once for learning, piety, and zeal. It has not been deemed necessary to offer any remarks on the claims to prophetic power put forth on this Reformer's behalf. The Editor, in accordance with the constitution of the Society, reckoned it his province merely to embody the statements of others—not to speculate concerning them.

Regarding the Life of Welsh, we would only farther add, that the most common mode of spelling his name is that which is here adopted. He wrote it differently himself at different periods, and it has passed through various changes, from WELSCHE to WELSHE, WELCHE, WELCH, and WELSH.

The LIFE OF PATRICK SIMSON, the second in the Series, is printed from one of the Wodrow MSS., in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. Though less known than Welsh, the character of Simson is scarcely less admirable than his; and whether for his learning, his judiciousness in counsel, or his boldness in opposing what he reckoned error, few of his contemporaries surpassed Patrick Simson.

Concerning the Life here published, it may be remarked, that

the MS. from which it is printed differs in some places from other sources of information regarding him: for example, from Row's CORONIS. In some instances also, the MS. could not be easily pointed,—or the meaning accurately discovered,—but the perusal of the Life, in the form in which it now appears, will perhaps suggest the desire that we knew more of the personal history and habits of such a master in Israel as this sketch exhibits Simson to have been. It is not improbable that some additional information concerning him might be gleaned from the Records of the Presbytery of Stirling, from those of his parish, or of the burgh where he laboured for so many years as a minister of Christ.

The third Life in the Series—that of JOHN LIVINGSTONE—an interesting autobiography, is also printed from a MS. in the Advocates' Library, carefully collated with other MSS. by Rev. JAMES ANDERSON, especially with one now in the possession of Rev. THOMAS M'CRIE. The latter, at one period, belonged to Anna Elizabeth Lundin, and was bequeathed to her by her mother, Anna Livingstone, daughter of William Livingstone, the eldest son of John. This MS. is said to be taken "from the principall writ by himself, [John Livingstone,] and compaired." It seems, however, to be verbally less correct than Wodrow's, and the latter was, therefore, adopted as the basis of the present edition. It will be seen that it differs considerably from editions formerly printed.

Besides THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND CHARACTERISTICS OF LIVINGSTONE, this volume contains various other productions of that distinguished man, some of which, we believe, are printed for the

first time. The object was to bring together all that could throw light on the life and character of one who occupied so conspicuous a sphere in the times in which he lived; and it is scarcely too much to say, that the documents here laid before the Members of the WODROW SOCIETY perhaps embody all that can now be known regarding him.[1]

But in order to exhibit as fully as possible the character of LIVINGSTONE himself, of his times, and his friends, there are appended to his own productions some Letters from one of his correspondents,—a lady who stood very high in his estimation, ELIZABETH MELVILLE, Lady COLVILLE of Culross. They indicate not merely the estimate in which LIVINGSTONE was held, but present us indirectly with instructive glimpses of the manners and spirit of his times. The views expressed by Lady Colville in these letters, as well as the sentiments recorded by another lady in the "SOLILOQUIES" which close this volume, exhibit to us how perfect was the sympathy, and how vigorous the co-operation, of the female mind in the sufferings and events of the times when Israel was troubled.

As a Prefatory Note introduces, and in some degree explains, nearly all the other portions of the volume, it is needless to refer

[1] There are two portraits in the possession of the Right Honourable the Earl of Wemyss, at Gosford House, said to be those of Livingstone and his wife. We may here observe, that in some MSS. his stipend from one of his parishes is mentioned at L.40 per annum; but startling as it may appear, this is a mistake for L.4.—(See Reid's Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, vol. i. p. 124.)

to them here in detail; and we only remark, in reference to the spelling, which varies so much in different MSS., or even in the same at different places, that we have generally followed the original words when editing from MSS., and been less particular in reference to what had formerly been printed, and in a great measure modernized.

The Members of the WODROW SOCIETY are indebted to the Rev. THOMAS M'CRIE for the use of several MSS., which will be found frequently referred to in this volume; to the Rev. J. STEVENSON of Newton-on-Ayr, for his kindness in procuring extracts illustrative of the Life of Welsh, from the Records of the Kirk-Session of Ayr; to JAMES PATERSON, Esq., of that town, for his kindness and pains in decyphering and transcribing them; to WILLIAM BROWN, Esq., surgeon, Edinburgh, for the use of a valuable MS. of LIVINGSTONE'S LIFE and two MSS. of his CHARACTERISTICS, and to other friends for the use of works, which tended to throw light on various passages of the different Biographies, especially those of Welsh and Simson.

The SECOND VOLUME of SELECT BIOGRAPHIES will form part of the issue to the Members for the year 1846.

W. K. T.

EDINBURGH, 15, GEORGE SQUARE,
4th December 1845.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE

THE HISTORY OF MR JOHN WELSH, Minister of the Gospel at Ayr, 1

APPENDIX to the History of Mr John Welsh, ... 45

A TRUE RECORD OF THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MASTER PATRICK SIMSONE. Written by his Brother, ARCHIBALD SIMSONE, Minister at Dalkeith, ... 63

A SERMON by the REV. A. SIMSON, Minister at Dalkeith, on the Death of Master Patrick Simson, *anno* 1618, . . . 113

A BRIEF HISTORICAL RELATION OF THE LIFE OF MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE, Minister of the Gospel: Containing several observations of the Divine Goodness manifested to him in the several occurrences thereof. Written by himself, during his banishment in Holland for the cause of Christ, ... 127

The SUBSTANCE of a DISCOURSE had by Mr JOHN LIVINGSTONE, to his Parish at Ancrum, 13th of October 1662, . . . 199

ANE ACCOMPT of what past when Mr JOHN LIVINGSTONE appeared before the Council, in the Lower Council-house at Edinburgh, December 11, 1662, at which time they banished him, . . 213

PAGE

A Letter from Mr John Livingstone to his Parish, before his departure forth of the kingdom, when permission to visit it, after his sentence, was refused, ... 223

A Letter written by that famous and faithful Minister of Christ, Mr John Livingstone, unto his Parishioners of Ancrum, in Scotland, dated Rotterdam, October 7, 1671, . . . 231

Letters of Mr John Livingstone relating to the public events of his time, ... 255

Sayings and Observations of Mr John Livingstone, late Minister of the Gospel at Ancrum. Collected from his own Manuscript, ... 277

Remarks on Preaching and Praying in Public, by Mr John Livingstone, ... 287

Observations by Mr John Livingstone, previous to his death, 290

Memorable Characteristics, and Remarkable Passages of Divine Providence, exemplified in the Lives of some of the most eminent Ministers and Professors in the Church of Scotland. Collected by Mr John Livingstone, late Minister at Ancrum, ... 293

Part I.—Some of the Ministers in the Church of Scotland, of whom I have only heard, ... 295

Part II.—Some of the Ministers in the Church of Scotland, whom I have known, and had acquaintance of, 305

Part III.—The Ministers in Ireland with whom I had acquaintance and converse, from the year 1630 to the year 1637, and some whereof were thereafter Ministers in Scotland, ... 322

Part IV.—Some of the faithful and able Ministers in the Church of Scotland, at or after the blessed Reformation, in the year 1638, and who died before the year 1660, 330

PAGE

PART V.—Some of the faithful and able Ministers of the Church of Scotland, at or after the blessed Reformation, 1638, and who died after 1660, ... 334

PART VI.—Some of the Professors in the Church of Scotland, eminent for Grace and Gifts, of whom I have only heard, ... 336

PART VII.—Some of the Professors in the Church of Scotland, of my acquaintance, who were eminent for Grace and Gifts, ... 341

LETTERS from ELIZABETH, Daughter of Sir James Melvill of Halhill, and Wife of John, Lord Colvill of Culross, to Mr JOHN LIVINGSTONE, ... 349

THE LAST AND HEAVENLY SPEECHES, AND GLORIOUS DEPARTURE, OF JOHN, VISCOUNT KENMURE, ... 371

THE MEMOIRS OF WALTER PRINGLE OF GREENKNOW; or some few of the Free Mercies of God to him, and his Will to his Children, left to them under his own hand, ... 411

The Copy of a Letter, written by Walter Pringle of Greenknow, from Elgin, to his family, ... 491

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PARTICULAR SOLILOQUIES AND COVENANT ENGAGEMENTS, past betwixt Mrs JANET HAMILTON, the defunct Lady of Alexander Gordon of Earlstoun, upon several diets, and at several places, which were found in her cabinet among her papers after her death, at Earlstoun, February 26, 1696; being all written and subscribed with her own hand, and thought fit to be discovered for the encouragement of others to do the like duty, at the desire of pious friends, . . . 495

INDEX, ... 509

THE

HISTORY

OF

MR JOHN WELSH,

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL

AT AYR.

THE

HISTORY

OF

MR JOHN WELSH,

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT AYR.

MASTER JOHN WELSH was born a gentleman, his father being Laird of Coliestoun,[1] (an estate rather competent than large, in the shire of Nithsdale,) about the year 1570,[2] the dawning of our Reformation being then but dark. He was a rich example of grace and mercy, but the night went before the day, being a most hopeless extravagant boy. It was not enough to him frequently, when he was a young stripling, to run away from the school, and play the truant; but after he had past his grammar, and was come to be a youth, he left the school and his father's house, and went and joined himself to the thieves on the English Border, who lived by robbing the two nations; and amongst them he staid till he spent a suit of clothes. Then when he was clothed only with rags, the prodigal's misery brought him to the prodigal's resolutions: so he resolved to return to his father's house, but durst not

[1] It lies in the parish of Dunscore according to some, of Irongray according to others.—(M'Gavin's edit. of Scottish Worthies, Life of Mr John Welsh.)

[2] 1569.

adventure till he should interpose a reconciler. So in his return homeward, he took Dumfries in his way, where he had an aunt, one Agnes Forsyth; and with her he diverted some days, earnestly entreating her to reconcile him to his father. While he lurked in her house, his father came providentially to the house to salute his cousin, Mrs Forsyth; and after they had talked a while, she asked him whether ever he had heard any news of his son John: To her he replied with great grief, O cruel woman, how can you name his name to me? the first news I expect to hear of him is that he is hanged for a thief. She answered, Many a profligate boy had become a virtuous man, and comforted him. He insisted upon his sad complaint, but asked whether she knew his lost son was yet alive; she answered, Yes, he was, and she hoped he should prove a better man than he was a boy: and with that she called upon him to come to his father. He came weeping, and kneeled, beseeching his father for Christ's sake to pardon his misbehaviour, and deeply engaged to be a new man. His father reproached him and threatened him; yet at length, by the boy's tears and Mrs Forsyth's importunities, he was persuaded to a reconciliation. The boy entreated his father to put him to the college, and there to try his behaviour, and if ever thereafter he should break, he said he should be content his father should disclaim him for ever: so his father carried him home, and put him to the college,[1] and there he became a diligent student of great expectation, and showed himself a sincere convert, and so he proceeded to the ministry.

His first post in the ministry was at Selkirk, while he was yet very young, and the country rude. While he was there, his ministry was rather admired by some than received by many; for he was always attended with the prophet's shadow, the hatred of the wicked; yea, even the ministers of that country were more ready to pick a quarrel with his person than to follow his doctrine, as may appear to this day in their Synodal Records, where we find

[1] He was educated in the University of Edinburgh, where he took his degree of M.A. in 1588,—(Miscellany of Wod. Soc. p. 543,)—and was ordained, perhaps, in 1589.

he had many to censure him, and only some to defend him; yet it was thought his ministry in that place was not without fruit, though he staid but short time there. Being a young man, unmarried, he tabled himself in the house of one Mitchelhill, and took a young boy of his to be his bedfellow, who to his dying day retained both a respect to Mr Welsh and his ministry, from the impressions Mr Welsh's behaviour made upon his apprehension though but a child. His custom was, when he went to bed at night, to lay a Scottish plaid above his bed-clothes, and when he went to his night prayers, to sit up and cover himself negligently therewith, and so to continue. For from the beginning of his ministry to his death, he reckoned the day ill spent if he staid not seven or eight hours in prayer; and this the boy would never forget even to hoary hairs.

I had once the curiosity, travelling through that town, to call for an old man, (his name was Ewart,) who remembered upon Mr Welsh's being in that place; and after other discourses, inquired of him what sort of a man Mr Welsh was. His answer was, O Sir, he was a type of Christ: an expression more significant than proper; for his meaning was, that he was an example that imitated Christ, as indeed in many things he did. He told me also that his custom was to preach publicly once every day, and to spend his whole time in spiritual exercises; that some in that place waited well upon his ministry with great tenderness, but that he was constrained to leave that place because of the malice of the wicked.

The special cause of his departure was, a profane gentleman in the country, (one Scot of Headschaw, whose family is now extinct;) but because Mr Welsh had either reproved him, or merely from hatred, Mr Welsh was most unworthily abused by the unhappy man; and amongst the rest of the injuries he did him, this was one: Mr Welsh kept always two good horses for his use; and the wicked gentleman, when he could do no more, either with his own hand, or his servant's, cut off the rumps of the two innocent beasts, upon which followed such effusion of blood that they both died; which Mr Welsh did much resent: and such base usage as

this persuaded him to listen to a call to the ministry at Kirkcudbright,[1] which was his next post.

But when he was to leave Selkirk, he could not find a man in all the town to transport his furniture except only Ewart, who was at that time a poor young man, but master of two horses, with which he transported Mr Welsh's goods, and so left him; but as he took his leave, Mr Welsh gave him his blessing, and a piece of gold for a token, exhorting him to fear God, and promised he should never want: which promise Providence made good through the whole course of the man's life, as was observed by all his neighbours.

At Kirkcudbright he staid not long; but there he reaped a harvest of converts which subsisted long after his departure, and were a part of Mr Samuel Rutherford's flock, though not his parish, while he was minister at Anwoth; yet when his call to Ayr came to him, the people of the parish of Kirkcudbright never offered to detain him, so his transportation to Ayr was the more easy.

While he was in Kirkcudbright, he met with a young gallant in scarlet and silver lace, (the gentleman's name was Mr Robert Glendoning,) new come home from his travels, and much surprised the young man by telling him he behoved to change his garb and way of life, and betake himself to the study of the Scriptures, which at that time was not his business, for he should be his successor in the ministry at Kirkcudbright; which accordingly came to pass some time thereafter.

Mr Welsh was transported to Ayr in the year 1590,[2] and there

[1] He was translated about 1594 or 1595.

[2] This must be a misprint. Welsh was then only about twenty years of age. Dr Murray (Lit. History of Galloway) says his translation could not have taken place till towards the end of the year 1599. Dr M'Crie quotes a document which refers to Welsh as minister of Kirkcudbright in February 1602. The dedication of his work on Popery is dated at Ayr in November of that year, so that his translation must have taken place between these two dates. From Forbes' MS. History of the Reformation in Scotland, it appears that Welsh had made himself obnoxious to the king so early as 1595. When he and Forbes were first dealt with in the matter of the Aberdeen Assembly, Forbes says of Welsh:—"He always had in most fervent zeal declared himself enemie to whatsoever intention in king

he continued till he was banished. There he had a very hard beginning, but a very sweet end: for when he came first to the town, the country was so wicked, and the hatred of godliness so great, that there could not one in all the town be found who would let him a house to dwell in: so he was constrained to accommodate himself the best he might in a part of a gentleman's house for a time. The gentleman's name was John Stewart, merchant, and sometimes Provost of Ayr, an eminent Christian, and great assistant of Mr Welsh.

And when he had first taken up his residence in that town, the place was so divided into factions, and filled with bloody conflicts, a man could hardly walk the streets with safety; wherefore, Mr Welsh made it his first undertaking to remove the bloody quarrellings, but he found it a very difficult work; yet such was his earnestness to pursue his design, that many times he would rush betwixt two parties of men fighting, even in the midst of blood and wounds. He used to cover his head with a head-piece before he went to separate these bloody enemies, but would never use a

or counsell whilk was contraire to the truth of God, and only true government of his house; wherupon, after the foresaid trouble in Edinburgh, raised the 17th of December 1595, as said is, he having both greatly and solidly, in great libertie and freedom of the Spirit, in the pulpit of Edinburgh, uttered the counsell and will of God to his Majestie and counsillors, not sparing to rebuke their known enormities, was forced, for fear of his life, being most hatefully pursued and sought for, to escape by withdrawing himself, as the minister of Edinburgh was likewyse forced to do for a time."—(Forbes' MS. History, p. 65.)

Calderwood (*anno* 1596) mentions John Welsh among commissioners named by the Assembly to visit Nithsdale and other "dangerous parts." Row's Hist. of Kirk of Scotland (*anno* 1596) has the following among "Petitions given in by the Assemblie to the king:"—"5°, That your Majesty may be pleased to suffer Mr D. Black, Mr John Welsh, and Mr John Howison, to return to their flocks."—(Wod. Soc. edit. p. 181.)

[John Forbes (to whose MS. History reference will be frequently made) was the third son of William Forbes of Corse and O'Neil, in the county of Aberdeen, and brother of Patrick Forbes, bishop of that city. He was first minister at Alford; and adhering with great zeal to the Presbyterian discipline, was at length driven into exile on account of his having acted as moderator of the Aberdeen Assembly, 1605. He settled in Holland, and successively officiated as a clergyman at Middleburgh and Delft. He died in exile about the year 1634.—(Rev. Thomas M'Crie.)]

sword, that they might see he came for peace, and not for war; and so by little and little he made the town a peaceable habitation.

His manner was, after he had ended a skirmish amongst his neighbours, and reconciled these bitter enemies, to cause cover a table upon the street, and there brought the enemies together; and beginning with prayer, he persuaded them to profess themselves friends, and then to eat and drink together. Then last of all he ended the work with singing a psalm: for after the rude people began to observe his example, and listen to his heavenly doctrine, he came quickly to that respect amongst them, that he became not only a necessary counseller, without whose counsel they would do nothing, but an example to imitate; and so he buried the bloody quarrels.[1]

He gave himself wholly to ministerial exercises; he preached once every day, he prayed the third part of his time, was unwearied in his studies; and for a proof of this, it was found among his papers that he had abridged Suarez's metaphysics, when they came first to his hand, even when he was well stricken in years. By all which it appears, that he has been not only a man of great diligence, but also of a strong and robust natural constitution, otherwise he had never endured the fatigue.

But if his diligence was great, so it is doubted whether his sowing in painfulness or his harvest in success was greater: for if either his spiritual experiences in seeking the Lord, or his fruitfulness in converting souls, be considered, they will be found unparalleled in Scotland. And many years after Mr Welsh's death, Mr David Dickson, at that time a flourishing minister at Irvine, was frequently heard to say, when people talked to him of the success of his ministry, that the grape-gleanings in Ayr in Mr Welsh's time were far above the vintage of Irvine in his own. Mr Welsh's preaching was spiritual and searching; his utterance tender and moving. He did not much insist upon scholastic purposes; he made no show of his learning. I heard once one of his hearers (who was

[1] See Appendix A. for some illustrations of the text, from the Records of the Kirk Session of Ayr.

afterwards minister at Moorkirk in Kyle) say, that no man could hardly hear him and forbear weeping, his conveyance was so affecting. There is a large volume of his sermons now in Scotland; but never any of them came to the press,[1] nor did he ever appear in print, except in his dispute with Abbot Brown the Papist, wherein he makes it appear his learning was not behind his other virtues;[2] and in another piece, called Welsh's Armageddon, printed I suppose in France, wherein he gives his meditation upon the enemies of the Church and their destruction.[3] But the piece itself is rarely to be found.

Sometimes, before he went to sermon, he would send for his elders, and tell them he was afraid to go to pulpit, because he found himself sore deserted; and thereafter desire one or more of them to pray, and then he would venture to pulpit. But it was observed this humbling exercise used ordinarily to be followed with a flame

[1] "There are several of his sermons in manuscripts in the hands of many. It is a great loss that these candles should be hid under bushels, and not set on candlesticks."—(M. Crawford, preface to Welsh's *Popery Anatomized.*) It is perhaps needless to say that the remark in the text is no longer true. Sermons by Welsh have appeared at different times, both in a detached form and in a volume. Among others, it is not very uncommon to see a 4to volume, entitled, "Miscellany Sermons, Part I.; being 35 sermons preached by that eminent servant of God, the Rev. John Welsh, sometime minister of the Gospel at Ayr, all preached in the 1605, a little before his imprisonment and banishment to France, with the history of his life, and two prophetical letters therein, written by himself." The second part of the volume contains farewell sermons by Manton, Caryl, Jacomb, Mede, Lye, and others; and was printed at Edinburgh by R. Drummond and Co. Some of the sermons of Welsh, especially those on "The Christian Warfare," from Ephesians vi. 10-18, deserve to be reprinted. But the most common form in which they appear is in small 8vo, containing forty-eight sermons, called by the publisher "A few sermons; being part of the labours of that great man of God Mr John Welch." The last sermon in the volume, on Rom. viii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 18, 37, has this preface:—"The last sermon preached at Air by Mr John Welch, the 23d July 1605, on a Tuesday before noon, when he was to take a journey to Edinburgh: the same day, and immediately after his coming there, was commanded to ward by the Council of Scotland, and conveyed by a guard to the Castle of Blackness."

[2] See Appendix B. for some account of that work.

[3] "In 1612 he had published a work, entitled, L'Armageddon de la Babylon Apocalyptique. Jonsac, 1612, 8vo."—(Miscell. of Wod. Soc. p. 544.)

of extraordinary assistance: so near neighbours are many times contrary dispensations and frames. He would many times retire to the church of Ayr, which was at some distance from the town, and there spend the whole night in prayer: for he used to allow his affections full expression, and prayed not only with audible, but sometimes loud voice. Nor did he irk in that solitude all the night over; which hath (it may be) occasioned the contemptible slander of some malicious enemies, who were so bold as to call him no less than a witch.

There was in Ayr, before he came to it, an aged man, a minister of the town, called Porterfield. The man was judged no bad man for his personal inclinations, but of so easy a disposition that he used many times to go too great a length with his neighbours in many dangerous practices; and amongst the rest, he used to go to the bow-butts and archery on Sabbath afternoon, to Mr Welsh's great dissatisfaction. But the way he used to reclaim him was not bitter severity, but this gentle policy. Mr Welsh, together with John Stewart and Hugh Kennedy, his two intimate friends, used to spend the Sabbath afternoon in religious conference and prayer; and to this exercise they invited Mr Porterfield, which he could not refuse: by which means he was not only diverted from his former sinful practice, but likewise brought to a more watchful and edifying behaviour in his course of life.[1]

He married Elizabeth Knox, daughter to the famous Mr John Knox, minister at Edinburgh, the apostle of Scotland, and she lived with him from his youth till his death.[2] By her I have heard

[1] Porterfield is mentioned by Calderwood as appointed by the Assembly of 1588 to visit Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham.

[2] She was cousin to Boyd of Trochrig; and Welsh's letters to him contain frequent allusions to her as a patient bearer of the cross. The heroism of this woman was worthy of the intrepid Reformer from whom she sprung, and was displayed at different periods during the life of her husband. "During his imprisonment before his trial, she attended him unremittingly, and was present at Linlithgow with the wives of the other prisoners on the eventful occasion. And when informed of the sentence, cruel and iniquitous as it was, far from giving way to useless lamentation over their fate, she, and indeed all of them, praised God who had given their husbands courage to stand in the cause of their Master;

he had three sons. The first was called Doctor Welsh, a Doctor of Medicine, who was unhappily killed upon an innocent mistake in the Low Countries; and of him I never heard more. Another son he had most lamentably lost at sea: for when the ship in which he was, was sunk, he swam to a rock in the sea, but starved there for want of necessary food and refreshment; and when some time afterward his body was found upon the rock, they found him dead in a praying posture upon his bended knees, with his hands stretched out: and this was all the satisfaction his friends and the world had upon his lamentable death so bitter to his friends. Another son he had who was heir to his father's graces and blessings; and this was Mr Josias Welsh, minister at Templepatrick in the north of Ireland, commonly called the Cock of the Conscience by the people of the country, because of his extraordinary wakening and rousing gift. He was one of that blest society of ministers which wrought that unparalleled work in the north of Ireland about the year 1636; but was himself a man most sadly exercised with doubts about his own salvation all his time, and would ordinarily say, that minister was much to be pitied who was called to comfort weak saints and had no comfort himself. He died in his youth,[1]

adding, that, like him, they had been judged and condemned under the covert of night."—(M'Gavin, Scottish Worthies, Life of Welsh.)

[1] "Mr Josiah Welsh, son of the famous Mr John Welsh, was provided (about 1626) of the Lord to bring the covenant of grace to the people at Six-Mile-Water, on whom Mr James Glendinning, formerly minister there, had wrought some legal convictions. After preaching some time at Oldstane, he was settled minister at Templepatrick, where he had many seals of his ministry. He was much exercised in his own spirit, and, therefore, much of his preaching was on exercise of conscience. After he was deposed by the Bishop of Down, he continued for a time preaching in his own house; and his auditory being large, he stood in a door looking toward a garden, that he might be heard without as well as within, by which means he, being of a weak constitution, with faulty lungs, contracted cold, which occasioned death, about the year 1634, (23d June.) I was with him on his death-bed, and found that he wanted not continued exercise of mind. One time he cried out, 'Ah, for hypocrisy!' On which Mr Blair said, 'See how Satan is nibbling at his heels before he enter into glory.' A very little before he died, I being at prayer before his bedside, and the word *Victory* coming out in some expression of mine, he took hold of my hand, and desiring me to forbear a little, he clapped both his hands together, and cried out,

and left for his successor Mr John Welsh, minister at Irongray in Galloway, the place of his grandfather's nativity. What business this made in Scotland in the time of the late Episcopal persecution, for the space of twenty years, is known to all Scotland. He maintained his dangerous post of preaching the Gospel upon the mountains of Scotland, notwithstanding of the threatenings of the State, the hatred of the bishops, the price set upon his head, and all the fierce industry of his cruel enemies. It is well known that bloody Claverhouse, upon secret information from his spies, that Mr Welsh was to be found in some lurking-place at forty miles distance, would make all that long journey in one winter's night that he might catch him; but when he came he missed always his prey. I never heard of a man that endured more toil, adventured upon more hazard, escaped so much hazard, not in the world. He used to tell his friends, who counselled him to be more cautious, and not to hazard himself so much, that he firmly believed dangerous undertakings would be his security; and that when ever he should give over that course and retire himself, his ministry should come to an end; which accordingly came to pass: for when, after Bothwell Bridge, he retired to London, the Lord called him by death, and there he was honourably buried, not far from the king's palace.[1]

'Victory, victory, victory, for evermore!' and then desired me to go on. Within a little after he expired."—(Livingston's Characteristics, chap. iii.)

Josiah Welsh was educated at Geneva, and on his return was appointed Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow. This office he filled till the introduction of Prelacy drove him from his Chair.—(Reid's History of Presbyterianism in Ireland, vol. i. p. 112.) For minute particulars as to Welsh's children, see the Testament of Mrs Welsh in Dr M'Crie's Life of Knox, (2d edit.) Append. pp. 417, 418.

[1] John Welsh, the younger, was driven from his parish by that exercise of arbitrary power which deprived nearly 400 parishes in the South and West of Scotland of their pastors, (1662.) His ejection was a painful one. "Almost all the parish convened, and many others about, who waited along with some ministers to convoy him a little on his way. There was great sorrowing and outcrying of the multitude beside the Water of Cluden, where he was to take leave. It was with great difficulty he got from among them, who were almost distracted, and cried most ruefully with tears." He and his family went

But to return to our old Mr Welsh: As the duty wherein he abounded and excelled most was prayer, so his greatest attainments fell that way. He used to say, he wondered how a Christian could lie in bed all night and not rise to pray; and many times he rose, and many times he watched. One night he rose from his wife and went into the next room, where he staid so long at secret prayer that his wife, fearing he might catch cold, was constrained to rise and follow him; and as she hearkened, she heard him speak as by interrupted sentences, Lord, wilt thou not grant me Scotland? and after a pause,—Enough, Lord, enough; and so she returned to her bed, and he following her, not knowing she had heard him; but when he was by her, she asked him what he meant by saying, Enough, Lord, enough,—he showed himself dissatisfied with her curiosity, but told her he had been wrestling with the Lord for Scotland, and found there was a sad time at hand, but that the Lord would be gracious to a remnant.[1] This

to reside in the parish of Parton, where he began to preach to the assembled crowds in a garden or the fields. He statedly visited his former parish, and other places, and was in consequence cited to appear before the Council, (1666.) He was at Rullion Green with Colonel Wallace, and after the disaster there was for some time in close concealment, having been declared a traitor for his share in the rising. About 1670 he again appeared, employed as before. Clydesdale, Fife, and Perthshire, were among the scenes of his labours. In 1672, the Laird of Balhousie was fined L.1000 sterling for harbouring Welsh. In 1674 he was in Fife, and preached to audiences of eight or ten thousand. The Laird of Reddie was fined 2000 merks for harbouring this "declared traitor." In 1676 he retired to England, but in the spring of 1677 was again in Scotland, and celebrated the communion near the Water of Girvan, in the parish of Maybole. Thousands attended there, and the blessing was remarkable. At this period, a price, amounting to 9000 merks Scots, was set on his head. He was at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, (1679;) and though a reward of L.500 had been offered for his apprehension, he escaped into England, and died in London, 9th January 1681, where he was buried near his grandfather. For some time he lived on Tweedside; and when the river was frozen, he preached "on the midst, that either he might shun the offence of both nations, or that two kingdoms might dispute his crime."—(M'Gavin, Wodrow, Blackadder.)

[1] "Mr Rutherford, in one of his books, calleth Mr John Welsh that heavenly, prophetical, and apostolick man of God. . . . . Of every twenty-four hours he gave usually eight to prayer, if other necessary and urgent duties did not hinder. Yea, he spent many days and nights, which he set apart in fasting and prayer for

was about the time when Bishops first overspread the land, and corrupted the Church. This is more wonderful I am to relate: I heard once an honest minister, who was a parishioner of Mr Welsh many a day, say, that one night as he watched in his garden very late, and some friends waiting upon him in house, and wearying because of his long stay, one of them chanced to open a window towards the place where he walked, and saw clearly a strange light surround him, and heard him speak strange words about his spiritual joy. I do neither add nor alter; I am the more induced to believe this, that I have heard from as good a hand as any in Scotland, that a very godly man, (though not a minister,) after he had spent a whole night in a country house at the House in the Muir, declared confidently he saw such an extraordinary light as this himself, which was to him both matter of wonder and astonishment. But though Mr Welsh had, upon the account of his holiness, abilities, and success, acquired among his subdued people a very great respect, yet was he never in such admiration as after the great plague which raged in Scotland about the year 1604. And one cause was this: The magistrates of Ayr, forasmuch as this alone town was free, and the country about infected, thought fit to guard the ports with sentinels and watchmen; and one day two travelling merchants, each with a pack of cloth upon a horse, came to the town desiring entrance that they might sell their goods, producing a pass from the magistrates of the town whence they came, which was at that time sound and free; yet, notwithstanding all this, the sentinels stopped them till the magistrates were called, and when they came, they would do nothing without their minister's advice. So Mr Welsh was called, and his opinion asked. He demurred, and putting off his hat, with his eyes towards heaven for a pretty space, though he uttered no audible words, yet

the condition of the Church, and the sufferings of the Reformed Church abroad. . . . . Yea, sometimes he would have been much of the night alone in the church of Ayr on that accompt. One time especially, his wife finding him overcharged with grief, he told her he had that to presse him which she had not,—the soules of three thousand to answer for, whilest he knew not how it was with many of them."—(Fleming's Fulfilment of Scripture.)

continued in a praying gesture; and after a little space told the magistrates they would do well to discharge these travellers their town, affirming, with a great asseveration, the plague was in these packs: so the magistrates commanded them to be gone, and they went to Cumnock, a town some twenty miles distant, and there sold their goods, which kindled such an infection in that place that the living were hardly able to bury their dead. This made the people begin to think Mr Welsh as an oracle. Yet as he walked with God, and kept close with Him, so he forgot not man: for he used frequently to dine abroad with such of his friends as he thought were persons with whom he might maintain the communion of the saints; and once in the year he used always to invite all his familiars in the town to a treat in his house, where there was a banquet of holiness and sobriety.

He continued the course of his ministry in Ayr till King James's purpose of destroying the Church of Scotland by establishing Bishops was ripe; and then it fell to be his duty to edify the Church by his sufferings, as formerly he had done by his doctrine.

The reason why King James was so violent for Bishops was neither their divine institution, (which he denied they had,) nor yet the profit the Church should reap by them, (for he knew well both the men and their communications,) but merely because he believed they were useful instruments to turn a limited monarchy into absolute dominion, and subjects into slaves, the design in the world he minded most.

Always in the pursuit of his design, he followed this method: In the first place, he resolved to destroy General Assemblies, knowing well that so long as Assemblies might convene in freedom, Bishops could never get their designed authority in Scotland, and the dissolution of Assemblies he brought about in this manner.

The General Assembly at Holyroodhouse, in the year 1602, with the King's consent, indicted their next meeting to be kept at Aberdeen, the last Tuesday of July, in the year 1604; and before that day came, the King, by his Commissioner, the Laird of Lauriestoun, and Mr Patrick Galloway, Moderator of the last

General Assembly, in a letter directed to the several presbyteries, continued the meeting till the first Tuesday of July 1605, at the same place. Last of all, in June 1605, the expected meeting, to have been kept in July following, is, by a new letter from the King's Commissioner, and the Commissioners of the General Assembly, absolutely discharged and prohibited, but without naming any day or place for any other Assembly; and so the series of our Assemblies expired, never to revive again in due form till the Covenant was renewed in the year 1638. However, many of the godly ministers of Scotland, knowing well if once the hedge of the Government was broken, the corruption of the doctrine would soon follow, resolved not to quit their Assemblies so; and, therefore, a number of them convened at Aberdeen upon the first Tuesday of July 1605, being the last day that was distinctly appointed by authority; and when they had met, did no more but constitute themselves, and dissolve, and that was all. Amongst these was Mr Welsh,[1] who, though he had not been present upon that precise day, yet because he came to the place, and approved what his brethren had done, he was accused as guilty of the treasonable fact committed by his brethren; so dangerous a point was the name of a General Assembly in King James's jealous judgment.

Within a month after this meeting, many of these godly men were incarcerated, some in one prison, some in another. Mr Welsh was sent first to Edinburgh Tolbooth, and then to Blackness;[2] and

[1] As enumerated by John Forbes, the moderator of the Assembly, in his MS. "History of the Reformation in Scotland," they were as follows:—"Mr John Welsh, Mr Nathanael Inglis, Mr James Graige, Mr John Young, Mr Thomas Abernethy, Mr Archibald Simpson, Mr Nathanael Harlow, and Mr Abraham Henderson, from the provinces of Air, Galloway, Teviotdale, and Lothian." These reached Aberdeen on Thursday the 4th of July. On the 5th came John Ross from the Synod of Perth; and he, as well as the others, "ratified and approved of the hail proceedings of the said Assembly."

[2] Welsh and Forbes "were transported the same day (26th July) to Blackness be the guard, according to the direction of the counsel, inclosed straitly in several houses, and keepit from the company one of another, and all other society whatsoever; no creature, except their keeper, having access to them." Welsh was called before the council at Edinburgh again on August 2d, and remitted to

so from prison to prison, till he was banished to France, never to see Scotland again.

And now the scene of his life begins to alter; but before his blessed sufferings, he had this strange warning:

After the meeting at Aberdeen was over, he retired immediately to Ayr; and one night he rose from his wife, and went into his garden, (as his custom was,) but staid longer than ordinary, which troubled his wife, who, when he returned, expostulated with him very hard for his staying so long to wrong his health: he bid her be quiet, for it should be well with them. But he knew well he should never preach more at Ayr; and, accordingly, before the next Sabbath, he was carried prisoner to Blackness Castle. After that, he, with many others who had met at Aberdeen, were brought before the Council of Scotland at Edinburgh, to answer for their rebellion and contempt in holding a General Assembly not authorised by the King. And because they declined the Secret Council, as judges [not] competent in causes purely spiritual, such as the nature and constitution of a General Assembly is, they were first remitted to the prison at Blackness and other places; and thereafter six of the most considerable of them were brought under night from Blackness to Linlithgow before the criminal judges, to answer an accusation of high treason, at the instance of Sir Thomas Hamilton, King's Advocate, for declining (as he alleged) the King's lawful authority in refusing to admit

Blackness on the 3d, along with Robert Durie, Andrew Duncan, Alexander Strachan, and John Sharp.—(Forbes' MS. History, pp. 66, 67.) Welsh, Forbes, and Durie, were ordered to Dumbarton Castle; but circumstances occurred to prevent their removal. Synods, presbyteries, and certain noblemen, barons, and gentlemen, endeavoured to obtain some mitigation of their severities, but without effect.—(Forbes, *ubi supra.*) Hendrie Blythe, minister of the Canongate, was sent to Blackness, because in a sermon he "heavily regratted" the treatment of Forbes and Welsh.—(Forbes, 68, 69.) "I have heard my father say, (who was present with these ministers to encourage them at their trial,) that when the guards came early in the morning to Blackness, to carry them to Linlithgow, where the court sat, Mr Welsh, on hearing the trumpet at the gate, sprang out of bed, and calling to the rest, said:—'Now take courage, my dear brethren, and rejoice.' Then began he, they also joining with him, to sing the eleventh psalm."—(Livingston's Characteristics, chap. i.)

the council judges competent in the cause of the nature of church judicatories; and after their accusation and answer was read; by the verdict of a jury of very considerable gentlemen,[1] condemned as guilty of high treason:[2] the punishment continued till the King's pleasure should be known; and thereafter their punishment was made banishment,[3] that the cruel sentence might some way seem to soften their severe punishment as the King had contrived it.[4]

[1] Forbes gives an abstract of Welsh's address to the Jury. The following are the opening sentences:—"Directing his speech to the assise, he did declare unto them that howsoever they were unknown to other, yet they sould remember that they were brethren in Christ, professing the same faith, in communion of the same Gospel, and beside, the servants and ambassadors of the great God, who would esteem that done to himself that was done to them, howsoever man did account of them. And, therefore, using the words of Jeremie, when he stood accused of the priests, he declaired that they were in their hands to do with them as the Lord should direct; yet doubtless if they did condemn them, they should bring innocent blood upon themselves and the haill land, in respect the Lord did send them be his kirk, from whom they had their calling. There was no iniquity in their hands, and the matter wherfore they were accused was the undoubted truth of God, belonging essentially to Christ's crown and kingdom, and to no indifferent matter as many did esteem it, the gravity and importance whereof they had had sufficient leisure to think of during the tyme of their twenty-four weeks' imprisonment." * * * *—(MS. Hist. pp.140, 141.)

[2] When the Jury was impanelled in this memorable trial, after many dealings with the counsel, "the advocate protested, that seeing the judges had found the dittayes [counts] relevant, and the defences nothing, *if the jurie sould acquit the pannell, they sould incur the pains of wilful error, and so endanger their life, lands, and geir, and reprotestit in the contrair.*"—(Forbes' MS. History, p. 132.) For remarks on this trial by Forbes and others, see Appendix C.

[3] The measures to be adopted at the trial were pre-arranged in London, and commenced at Edinburgh, 24th October 1605, as follows:—"First, It was ordained that the counsel sould call the brethren in prison, and by their sentence convict them. Secundly, That the Commissioners of the General Assembly sould do the lyke: thereafter, that sic of them as sould give some token of repentance by acknowledging their offence, sould be relieved from prison, and wairdit within their own congregations. Concerning them who would not acknowledge their offence, it was diversely resolved: Mr John Forbes, and Mr John Welsh, (of whose repentance for that deed there was no hope,) was ordained to be banished; the rest, who sould remain obstinate, were appointed to be deposed from the ministry be the Commissioners of the General Assembly."—(Forbes' MS. Hist. pp. 94, 95.)

[4] The different steps, preparatory to the trial, are detailed with much accuracy by Forbes in his History. After their imprisonment in Blackness, (24th August,)

While he was in Blackness, he wrote his famous letter to Dame Lilias Grahame, Countess of Wigton,[1] which here I have inserted:[2]—

a series of eighteen ensnaring questions were sent to the ministers, bearing on the Aberdeen Assembly; and on the 27th of the same month, these questions were to be answered before the Council *at Perth*. But on the Lord's Day, (25th August,) Mr Peter Hewat, minister of Edinburgh, and James Primrose, "Scribe to the Secret Counsel," were sent by the President to free them from their compearance at Perth, "if they would make a favourable declaration of their proceedings in their Assembly" at Aberdeen. Their answers were without compromise; and on the 26th of August, Welsh, with other five, were removed to Perth. The Council sat on the 27th, and the proceedings are carefully narrated by Forbes, *ubi supra*, pp. 73, 74, *et seq.* At Perth they urgently petitioned first to be allowed to return to their charges, "upon sufficient sureties" that they would return to take their trial if the Council cited them; but this was denied. Then the prisoners prayed for "libertie for fifteen days to provide things necessarie for their waird, in respect some of them had been taken upon the sudden without warning and premonition, and by all expectation committed, having made no provision, some being more than fourscore of miles from their dwellings."—(Forbes.) This and every modification of their petition was rejected; and "all favour and courtesie being denyed, they were sent to waird, and entered in Blackness the 29th of August." Forbes says, that amid all these doings, the design was to "put some of them out of the way, specially Mr John Forbes and Mr John Welsh, of whom there was no hoip that ever they should be moved to condescend, or in silence to tolerate such iniquity," touching the government of the kirk.—(*Ibid.*)—Of future attempts to procure some relaxation of their severities, (3d October,) Forbes says:—"In answer to the humble suit, an ordinance was direct from the counsell to the constable of Blackness, commanding him to separate them two and two in several chambers, to stay them from meeting among themselves, and to suffer no other to have access to them,"—(p. 94.)

[1] "The Right Honourable Lilias Grahame, Countess of Wigton, was a most devout and pious lady. When I was a child, I have often seen her at my father's at preachings and communions. While dressing, she read her Bible, and prayed among hands, and every day at that time she shed more tears (said one) than ever I did all my lifetime."—(Livingstone's Characteristics, chap. vi.)

[2] We may judge of the outward condition of the man who wrote this letter from the following extract:—"The 14th of November (1605) thir supplications were presentit to the counsell in favours of the ministers in waird, be the commissioners of the Synod of Louthian, and of the Presbyteries of Fiffe, directed from them to that effect. The first desiring their freedom: 1. That they might be partakers and proclaimers of the common joy for his Majestie, Queen, posterity, and Lords delivered (from the Gunpowder Plot.) 2. For the comfort of their desolate flocks and families. 3. For their povertie through their extraordinarie chairges. 4. Because of the infirmitie and weakness of body contracted by long imprisonment. This being refused, the second was desiring them to be

"The consolations of the Holy Ghost be multiplied upon you in Christ Jesus.

"Often and many times, Christian and elect Lady, I have desired the opportunity to be comforted with that consolation wherewith it hath pleased God of his free grace and mercy to fill and furnish you. Your remembrance is very sweet and comfortable to my very soul. Since the first time I knew you in Christ Jesus, I have ever been mindful of you unto the Lord; and now, not being able to refrain any longer, I could not omit this occasion, not knowing how long it may please the Lord to continue my being in this tabernacle, or give me further occasion of writing to any.

"Although I have not great matter at this time, yet, in remembrance of your labour of love, hope, and patience, I must needs salute your Ladyship, knowing assuredly you are the chosen of God, set apart before ever the world was to that glorious and eternal inheritance. Being thus comforted in your faith and hope, I am fully assured, though we never have the occasion of meeting here, yet we shall reign together in the world to come.

"My desire to remain here is not great, knowing, that so long as I am in this house of clay, I am absent from God. And if it were dissolved, I look for a building not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. In this I groan, desiring to be clothed upon with my house which is in heaven: if so be that being clothed I shall not be found naked. For I that am within this tabernacle do often groan and sigh within myself, being oftentimes burdened: not that I would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be

wairded in their own congregations, whilk also being refused, the third was for the ministers in Blackness, desiring only their transportation to any other waird, in respect of the danger they stood in of the pest being broken out in the village town of Blackness; bot all were rejected."—(Forbes' MS. History, pp. 114, 115.) Referring to certain proclamations issued by the king about this time, Row (Hist. Wod. Soc. edit. p. 231) says:—"It is to be remarked, that, after the king went to Ingland, the Papists fand the heavie dint of proclamations—*verba*; but the most zealous and fordward Protestants, under the name of Puritans, still fand the dint of oppressions and persecutions—*verbera*."

swallowed up of life. I long to eat of that tree which is planted in the midst of the Paradise of God, and to drink of the pure river, clear as crystal, that runs through the street of the New Jerusalem. I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand the last day upon the earth: and though after my skin worms destroy my body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and not another for me; and my eyes shall behold him, though my reins be consumed within me. I long to be refreshed with the souls of them that are under the altar, who were slain for the Word of God and the testimony they held; and to have these long white robes given me, that I may walk in white raiment with those glorious saints who have washed their garments, and have made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Why should I think it a strange thing to be removed from this place to that wherein my Hope, my Joy, my Crown, my Elder Brother, my Head, my Father, my Comforter, and all the glorious saints are; and where the song of Moses and the Lamb is sung joyfully; where we shall not be compelled to sit by the rivers of Babylon, and to hang up our harps on the willow trees? but shall take them up and sing the new Hallelujah, Blessing, honour, glory, and power, to him that sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever? What is there under the old vault of the heavens, and in this old worn earth, which is under the bondage of corruption, groaning, and travailing in pain, and shooting out the head, looking, waiting, and longing for the redemption of the sons of God? What is there, I say, that should make me desire to remain here? I expect that new heaven and that new earth, wherein righteousness dwelleth, wherein I shall rest for evermore. I look to get entry into the New Jerusalem; at one of those twelve gates whereupon are written the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel. I know that Christ Jesus hath prepared them for me. Why may I not, then, with boldness in his blood, step into that glory where my Head and Lord hath gone before me? Jesus Christ is the door and the porter: who then shall hold me out? Will he let them perish for whom he died? Will he let them, poor sheep, be plucked out of

his hand for whom he hath laid down his life? Who shall condemn the man whom God hath justified? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of the man for whom Christ hath died, or rather risen again? I know I have grievously transgressed; but where sin abounded grace will superabound. I know my sins are red as scarlet and crimson, yet the red blood of Christ my Lord can make them as white as snow or wool. Whom have I in heaven but him, or whom desire I in the earth besides him? (Psalm lxxiii. 25.) O thou the fairest among the children of men, the Light of the Gentiles, the Glory of the Jews, the Life of the Dead, the Joy of Angels and Saints, my soul panteth to be with thee; I will put my spirit into thy hands, and thou wilt not put me out of thy presence. I will come unto thee, for thou castest none away that comes unto thee. O thou the delight of mankind, thou camest to seek and to save that which was lost. Thou seeking me hast found me; and now being found by thee, I hope, O Lord, thou wilt not let me perish: I desire to be with thee, and do long for the fruition of thy blessed presence, and joy of thy countenance. Thou the only good Shepherd art full of grace and truth; therefore, I trust thou wilt not thrust me out of the door of grace. The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth by thee. Who shall separate me from thy love? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? Nay, in all these things I am more than conqueror through thy majesty who hath loved me. For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor principalities, nor powers, nor any other creature, is able to separate me from the love of the majesty which is in Christ Jesus my Lord. I refuse not to die with thee, that I may live with thee. I refuse not to suffer with thee, that I may rejoice with thee. Shall not all things be pleasant to me, which may be the last step by which, and upon which, I may come unto thee? When shall I be satiate with thy face? When shall I be drunk with thy pleasures? Come, Lord Jesus, and tarry not. The Spirit says, Come: the Bride says, Come; even so, Lord Jesus, come quickly, and tarry not. Why should the multitude of my iniquities or greatness of them affright

me? Why should I faint in this my desire to be with thee? The greater sinner I have been, the greater glory will thy grace be to me unto all eternity. O unspeakable joy, endless, infinite, and bottomless compassion! O sea of never-fading pleasures! O love of loves! O the breadth, and height, and depth, and length of that love of thine, that passeth all knowledge! The love of Jonathan was great indeed unto David, it passeth the love of women; but thy love, O Lord, passeth all created love! O uncreated love! beginning without beginning, and ending without end. Thou art my glory, my joy, and my gain, and my crown. Thou hast set me under thy shadow with great delight, and thy fruit is sweet unto my taste. Thou hast brought me into thy banqueting-house, and placed me in thy orchard; stay me with flagons, and comfort me with apples: for I am sick, and my soul is wounded with thy love. Behold, thou art fair, my love; behold, thou art fair; thou hast doves' eyes: Behold, thou art fair, my beloved, yea pleasant: also our bed is green; the beams of our house are cedars, and our rafters are of fir. How fair and how pleasant art thou, O full of delights! my heart is ravished with thee; O when shall I see thy face? How long wilt thou delay to be with me as a roe, or a young hart, leaping upon the mountains, and skipping upon the hills? As a bundle of myrrh be thou to me, and lie all night betwixt my breasts; because of the savour of thy good ointments, thy name is as ointment poured forth, therefore desire I to go out of this desert, and to come to the place where thou sittest at thy repast, and where thou makest thy flocks to rest at noon. When shall I be filled with his love? Surely if a man knew how precious it were, he would count all things dross and dung to gain it: truly I would long for that scaffold, or that axe, or that cord, that might be to me that last step of this my wearisome journey, to go to thee my Lord. Thou who knowest the meaning of the spirit, give answer to the speaking, sighing, and groaning of the spirit. Thou who hast inflamed my heart to speak to thee in this silent, yet lovely language of ardent and fervent desires, speak again unto my heart, and answer my desires, which thou hast made me speak to thee.

(1 Cor. xv. 55,) 'O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin; the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, who giveth to me the victory through Jesus Christ.' What can be troublesome to me, since my Lord looks upon me with so loving and amiable a countenance? and how greatly do I long for these embracements of my Lord! O that he would kiss me with the kisses of his mouth, (Cant. i. 3,) 'For his love is better than wine.' O that my soul were the throne wherein he might dwell eternally! O that my heart were the temple wherein he might be magnified, and dwell for ever! All glory be unto my God; angels and saints, praise ye him! O thou earth, yea hills and mountains, be glad; you shall not be wearied any more with the burden of corruption, whereunto you have been subject through the wickedness of mankind: lift up your heads and be glad, for a fire shall make you clean from all your corruption and vanity, wherewith for many years you have been infected. Let the bride rejoice, let all the saints rejoice, for the day of the marriage with the bridegroom (even the Lamb of God) is at hand, and his fair white robes shall be given her; she shall be arrayed with the golden vestry, and needlework of his manifold graces that shall be put upon her; he who is her life shall quickly appear, and she shall quickly appear with him in the glory and happiness of a consummated marriage. But I must remember myself; I know I have been greatly strengthened and sustained by your prayers, (honourable Lady, and dearly beloved in our Lord Jesus;) continue, I pray you, as you have begun, in wrestling with the Lord for me, that Christ may be magnified in my mortal body, whether living or dead, that my soul may be lifted up to the third heavens, that I may taste of those joys that are at the right hand of my heavenly Father, and that with gladness I may let my spirit go thither where my body shall shortly follow. Who am I that he should first have called me, and then constituted me a minister of the glad tidings of the gospel of salvation these sixteen[1] years already; and now, last of all, to be a sufferer for his cause and

[1] The number is left blank in Kirkton's Life.

kingdom? Now let it be so, that I have fought my fight and run my race; and now from henceforth is laid up for me that crown of righteousness which the Lord that righteous God will give, and not to me only, but to all that love his appearance, and choose to witness this, that Jesus Christ is the King of saints, and that his Church is a most free kingdom, yea, as free as any kingdom under heaven; not only to convocate, hold, and keep her meetings, and conventions, and assemblies, but also to judge of all her affairs in all her meetings and conventions amongst her members and subjects. These two points: first, That Christ is the Head of his Church; secondly, That she is free in her government from all other jurisdiction except Christ's;—these two points, I say, are the special cause of our imprisonment, being now convicted as traitors for the maintaining thereof. We have been ever waiting with joyfulness to give the last testimony of our blood in confirmation thereof, if it should please our God to be so favourable as to honour us with that dignity. Yea, I do affirm that these two points above written, and all other things which belong to Christ's crown, sceptre, and kingdom, are not subject, nor can be, to any other authority but to his own altogether, so that I would be most glad to be offered up as a sacrifice for so glorious a truth. But, alas! I fear that my sins, and the abuse of so glorious things as I have found, deprive me of so fair a crown; yet my Lord doth know if he would call me to it, and strengthen me in it, it would be to me the most glorious day and gladest hour I ever saw in this life; but I am in His hand to do with me whatsoever shall please his Majesty. It may suffice me I have had so long a time in the knowledge of the Gospel, and that I have seen the things that I have seen, and heard the things I have heard, and through the grace of God I have been so long a witness of these glorious and good news in my weak ministry, and that my witnessing hath not been altogether without fruit and blessing; so that I hope at that day I shall have him to be my crown, my glory, my joy, and reward; and, therefore, boldly I say with Simeon, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, (not in a peaceable dying

in my bed,) but by rendering up to Him my spirit, and the sealing and stamping this truth with my blood. I desire not to have it remedied, but let my Lord's will be done.

"Now that prophecy is at hand which these two worthy servants of the Lord, Mr George Wishart, and Mr John Knox my father-in-law, spake; which was, That Christ should be crucified in this kingdom, but glorious should be his resurrection; as Mr Knox with his own hand, upon the margin of Calvin's Harmony upon the Passion, did write, which is yet extant. But, alas! for this kingdom. My testimony now doth not differ from that of many before this time, who said, That the kingdom of Scotland should be blood; the kingdom shall be drawn in blood; a furbished and glittering sword is already drawn out of the scabbard, which shall not return until it be made drunk with the blood of the men in this land; first, the heavy intestine sword, and then the sword of the stranger. O doleful Scotland! well were he that were removed from thee, that his eyes might not see, nor his ears hear, all the evils that are to come upon thee. Neither the strong man by his strength, nor the rich man by his riches, nor the nobleman by his blood, shall be delivered from the judgments. There is a great sacrifice to be made in Bozrah,—in thee, O Scotland, of the blood of all sorts in the land; Ephraim shall consume Manasseh, and Manasseh Ephraim: brother against brother; and every man in the judgment of the Lord shall be armed to thrust his sword in the side of his neighbour, and all for the contempt of the glorious Gospel. And that blood which was offered to thee, O Scotland! in so plenteous a manner, that the like thereof hath not been offered to any nation, therefore thy judgment shall be greater; but the sanctuary must be begun at, and the measure is not fulfilled till the blood of the saints be shed; then the cries will be great, and will not stay, till they bring the Lord down from heaven his throne to see if the sins of Scotland be according to the cry thereof: neither shall there be any subject in the land, from the greatest to the meanest, guiltless. The guilt of our blood shall not only lie upon our prince, but also upon our own brethren,

bishops, counsellers, and commissioners; it is they, even they, that have stirred up our prince against us. We must, therefore, lay the blame and burden of our blood upon them especially, however the rest above written be partakers of their sins with them; and as to the rest of our brethren, who either by silence approve, or by crying, Peace, peace, strengthen the arm of the wicked that they cannot return, [and] in the meantime make the hearts of the righteous sad, they shall all in like manner be guilty of high treason against the King of kings, the Lord Jesus Christ, his crown and kingdom.

"Next unto them, all our Commissioners, Chancellor, President, Comptroller, Advocate; and next unto them, all that first or last sat in council, and did not bear plain testimony for Jesus Christ and his kingdom, for which we do suffer. And next unto them, all those who should have at present, and who should at such times have come and made open testimony of Christ faithfully, although it had been contrary to plain law, and with the hazard of their lives. When the poor Jews were in such danger that nothing was expected but utter destruction, Queen Esther (after three days' fasting) concluded thus with herself: I will (said she) go in to the king, (though it be not according to law,) and if I perish, I perish, (Esther ix. 16.) With this resolution, such as are born counsellers should have said, Christ's kingdom is now in my hand, and I am bound also, and sworn by a special covenant, to maintain the doctrine and discipline thereof, according to my vocation and power, all the days of my life, under all the pains contained in the book of God, and danger of body and soul in the day of God's fearful judgment. And, therefore, though I should perish in the cause, yet will I speak for it, and to my power defend it, according to my vocation. Finally, all those that counsel, command, consent, and allow, are guilty in the sight of God; but the mourners for these evils, and the faithful of the land, and those who are unfeignedly grieved in heart for all these abominations, those shall be marked as not guilty, (Ezek. ix.)

"I know not whether I shall have occasion to write again; and,

therefore, by this letter, as my latter will and testament, I give testimony, warning, and knowledge of these things to all men, according to the Lord's direction to the Prophet, 'Son of man, I have made thee a watchman,' (Ezek. xxxiii. 7, &c.) Therefore, I give warning to all men hereby, that no man's blood be required at my hand. Thus desiring the help of your prayers, with my humble commendations and service in Christ to my Lord your husband, and all the saints there, the messenger of peace be with you all for evermore. Amen.

"Yours to my full power, for the time, Christ's prisoner,

"MR JOHN WELSH.

"Blackness, January 6, 1606."[1]

This is my copy of this prophetical letter; and as it is a question whether the great prophecy concerning Scotland be yet fulfilled, or to receive its accomplishment, so there is no doubt part of it is fulfilled; for of all those who were judges in his cruel sentence there is now no remnant nor memory, as is commonly observed.

Another famous prophetical letter he wrote to Sir William Livingston of Kilsyth, one of the Lords of the College of Justice, whereof this is my copy:—

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,—My hearty salutations remembered in the Lord. Your love and care many times have certainly comforted me; and having no other thing to require, I shall (as I may) desire him who is able to do, and hath undertaken it, to meet you and yours with consolations in his good time.

"As for the matter itself, the bearer will show you, that what is required is such a thing as, in the sight of our Lord, we may not do without both the hazard of our consciences and liberty of Christ's kingdom, which should be dearer to us than any thing else. What

[1] It appears from Forbes' MS. Hist. p. 197, that Welsh was, on the 24th of May this year, conveyed to Edinburgh as a witness against the chancellor, who had fallen into disgrace.

a slavery were it to us to bind our consciences in the service of our God, in the meanest point of our callings, to the will of man or angels; and we are fully resolved that what we did was acceptable service to our God, who hath put it up as service done to him, and has allowed and sealed it to us by many tokens, so that it were more than high impiety and apostacy to testify the ruin or undoing of any thing which our God hath ordained to be done. We, Sir, if the Lord will, are yet ready to do more in our calling, and to suffer more for the same, if so be it will please our God to call us to it, and strengthen us in it: for ourselves we dare promise nothing, but in our God all things.

"As for that instrument, Spotswood, we are sure the Lord will never bless that man; but a malediction lies upon him, and shall accompany all his doings; and it may be, Sir, your eyes shall see as great confusion covering him, ere he go to his grave, as ever did his predecessors. Now surely, Sir, I am far from bitterness; but here I denounce the wrath of an everlasting God against him, which assuredly shall fall except it be prevented. Sir, Dagon shall not stand before the ark of the Lord; and these names of blasphemy that he wears of Lord Bishop and Archbishop will have a fearful end. Not one beck is to be given to Haman, suppose he were as great a courtier as ever he was. Suppose the decree was given out, and sealed with the king's ring, deliverance will come to us elsewhere, and not by him, who has been so sore an instrument, not against our persons, that were nothing—but I protest to you, Sir, in the sight of my God, I forgive him all the evil he has done, or can do to me—but unto Christ's poor Kirk, in stamping under foot so glorious a kingdom and beauty as was once in this land: he has helped to cut Sampson's hair, and to expose him to mocking; but the Lord will not be mocked: he shall be cast away as a stone out of a sling; his name shall rot, and a malediction shall fall upon his posterity after he is gone. Let this, Sir, be a monument of it that was told before, that when it shall come to pass it may be seen there was warning given him. And, therefore, Sir, seeing I have not the access myself, if it

would please God to move you, I wish you did deliver this hard message to him, not as from me, but from the Lord.

" MR JOHN WELSH.

" Blackness, 1605."

The man upon whom he complains and threatens so sore was Bishop Spotswood, at that time designed Archbishop of Glasgow, and this prophecy was punctually accomplished, though after the space of forty years: for, first, the Bishop himself died in a strange land, and (as many say) in misery: next, his son, Sir Robert Spotswood, some time President of the Session, was beheaded by the Parliament of Scotland at the Market-Cross of St Andrews, in the winter after the battle of Philiphaugh, to which I myself (with many thousands) was witness; and as soon as ever he came upon the scaffold, Mr Blair, the minister of the town, told him, that now Mr Welsh's prophecy was fulfilled upon him; to which he replied in anger, that Mr Welsh and he were both false prophets.

But before he left Scotland, some remarkable passages in his behaviour are to be remembered. And, first, when the dispute about Church government began to warm, as he was walking upon the street of Edinburgh betwixt two honest citizens, he told them they had in their town two great ministers, who were no great friends to Christ's cause presently in controversy, but it should be seen the world should never hear of their repentance. The two men were Mr Patrick Galloway and Mr John Hall, and accordingly it came to pass: for Mr Patrick Galloway died easing himself upon his stool; and Mr John being at that time in Leith, and his servant woman having left him alone in his house while she went to the market, he was found dead all alone at her return.

He was some time prisoner in Edinburgh Castle before he went into exile:[1] where one night, sitting at supper with the Lord

[1] Welsh was, on one occasion, a prisoner in the castle from about 24th May to 13th June; but " he was keepit in close waird, no man having access to him."—(Forbes, 202.)

Ochiltree, (who was uncle to Mr Welsh's wife,) as his manner was, he entertained the company with godly and edifying discourse, which was well received by all the company save only one debauched Popish young gentleman, who sometimes laughed, and sometimes mocked and made faces; whereupon Mr Welsh brake out into a sad abrupt charge upon all the company to be silent, and observe the work of the Lord upon that profane mocker, which they should presently behold: upon which immediately the profane wretch sunk down and died beneath the table, but never returned to life again, to the great astonishment of all the company.

Another wonderful story they tell of him at the same time: The Lord Ochiltree, the captain, being both son to the good Lord Ochiltree, and Mr Welsh's uncle-in-law, was indeed very civil to Mr Welsh; but being for a long time, through the multitude of affairs, kept from visiting Mr Welsh in his chamber, as he was one day walking in the court, and espying Mr Welsh at his chamber-window, asked him kindly how he did, and if in any thing he could serve him. Mr Welsh answered him, He would earnestly entreat his Lordship (being at that time to go to Court) to petition King James in his name that he might have liberty to preach the Gospel, which my Lord promised to do. Mr Welsh answered, My Lord, both because you are my kinsman, and for other reasons, I would earnestly entreat and obtest you not to promise except you faithfully perform. My Lord answered, He would faithfully perform his promise, and so went for London. But though at his first arrival he was really purposed to present the petition to the king, when he found the king in such a rage against the godly ministers, he durst not at that time present it: so he thought *fit* to delay it, and thereafter fully forgot it.

The first time Mr Welsh saw his face after his return from Court, he asked him what he had done with his petition. My Lord answered, He had presented it to the king, but that the king was in so great a rage against the ministers at that time, he believed it had been forgotten, for he had gotten no answer. Nay, said Mr Welsh to him: My Lord, you should not lie to God and to me,

for I know you never delivered it, though I warned you to take heed not to undertake it except you would perform it; but because you have dealt so unfaithfully, remember God shall take from you both estate and honours, and give them to your neighbour, in your own time. Which accordingly came to pass: for both his estate and honours were in his own time translated upon James Stewart, son to Captain James, who was indeed a cadet, but not the lineal heir of the family.

While he was detained prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, his wife used for the most part to stay in his company, but upon a time fell into a longing to see her family in Ayr, to which with some difficulty he yielded; but when she was to take journey, he strictly charged her not to take the ordinary way to her own house when she came to Ayr, nor to pass by the bridge through the town, but to pass the river above the bridge, and so to get the way to his own house, and not to come into the town: for, said he, before you come hither, you shall find the plague broken out in Ayr; which accordingly came to pass.

The plague was at that time very terrible; and he being necessarily separate from his people, it was to him the more grievous; but when the people of Ayr came to him to bemoan themselves, his answer was, that Hugh Kennedy (a godly gentleman in their town) should pray for them, and God should hear him. This counsel they accepted; and the gentleman convening a number of the honest citizens, prayed fervently for the town, (as he was a mighty wrestler with God,) and accordingly after that the plague decreased.

Now the time is come he must leave Scotland, and never to see it again: so upon the 7th of November 1606, in the morning, he, with his neighbours,[1] took ship at Leith; and though it was but two o'clock in the morning, many were waiting on with their

[1] They were, John Forbes, who went to Middleburgh; Robert Dury, who became minister to the Scots congregation at Leyden; John Sharp, who became minister and professor in divinity at Die, in the Dauphinate; Andrew Duncan and John Strachan, who afterwards were permitted to return.—(Calderwood.)

afflicted families to bid them farewell.[1] After prayer, they sung the twenty-third Psalm: and so with the great grief of the spec-

[1] "Incontinent eftir our actioun at Hamptoun Court, (1606,) Mr James Elphistoune, Secretar, wes directit away to Scotland, with commissioune to pronounce the sentence and doome againes the prissouneres in Blacknes; and unles they would acknawledge thair offence, and craveing forgivenes, come in his Majestie's will, to be banischit off his Majestie's dominiounes, namely, the sex attaintit; and the rest to be confynit, sume in the Lewis, and sume in Kintyre, and sume in Caitnes; the most barbarrous pairtis of the realme."

THE MANER OF [THE MINISTERES] THAIR PARTING FROM SCOTLAND WES WRITTIN TO US, AS FOLLOWIS.

"'I wrett a Lettre to yow, Rycht Reverend, from Leith, the 6th of November, concerneing the Britherine in Blaknes, quho imbarkit the 7 of the same instant; [quhois depairtour wes boith joyfull] and sorrowfull to many: Joyfull, in that many guid folkis quho wer present saw thair constancie and courage to stand for the guid caus they had in hand: But sorrowfull, becaus the land is deprivit of sua notabill lightis as they ar. The maner of thair depairtoure wes this: The 6 of November, about four eftirnoone, they wer desyrit to come to the boat quhilk wes prepairit for thame, be the Watter-Baillie of Leith and Edinburgh; quho, obeying, come, accompaneit with sume of thair dearest freindis and wyiffes to the peire, quhair thair wes a guid number of peiple waiting on, to tak the guid-night at thame, and to sie thame; but eftir thair cumming hither, Mr Johne Welsche conceivit a prayer, quhilk bred great motioune in the heartis of all the heareres. Prayer endit, they tuk guid-nycht of thair freindis, wyffes, and many uthir welwilleres quho wer present, enterit into the boat, quhair they remainit a guid space waitting on the skipper, quho, becaus he wes not ready that nycht to goe aboard, and lyeing in the schipp, they wer desyrit by the Watter-Bailyie, either to goe aboard and lye in the schipp that nycht without the skipper, or eles to goe to thair ludgeing that nycht, and be redy at the next call.

"'They, by Godis speciall providence, chusite to goe to thair ludgeing; for that nycht come on a great storme, that the schippe wes forcit to saiff her selff in Kinghorne road all that nycht. They wer callit againe by tuo houres in the morneing; quho, obeying, come to the schore and peer, accompanieit as the nycht befoir, no small concurse of peiple being with thame, beyond expectatioune, so airly to sie thame boat. Prayer conceivit as befoir, by Mr Johne Welsche, they imbarkit, giving many exhortatiounes to all to hold fast the truth of the doctrine quhilk they had deliverit; for the quhilk, they doutit no thing to lay doun thair lyffis, let be to suffer banischment; adding thairto, that quhilk they sufferit wes the great joy of thair conscience. In the meane tyme, the marineris haistit thame away, they not being abill to speik longer, nor we to heir, that boith the courage and joye they had in God mycht be manifest to all, they depairtit out of our sycht, making us to heir the confortabill joye quhilk they had in God, in singing a Psalme. Blissit be God, quho made that actioun glorious,

tators, set sail for the south of France, and landed in the river of Bourdeaux. Within fourteen weeks after his arrival, such was the Lord's blessing on his diligence, he was able to preach in French ;[1]

and gracit them in the heartis and eyis of all that lookit on thame, and graunt me grace, for my pairt, niver to forget it!

"'The Bischops, returneing from England, presentit a Proclamatioune to the Presbyterie, that no minister sould be so bauld, under the pain of death, as to pray for thame; lykwayis ane Lettre came from the Counsel, schawing them that it wes his Majestie's will, that the ministeres of the Presbyterie sould supplie thair roumes that wer put away, till he saw to the planting of thair kirkes. I may well regrat the miserabill estait of this Presbyterie, above any of the land, sen thai and the rest left it! God amend it! To quhom we ceise not to commend yow.'"—(J. Melvill's Autobiography, Wod. Soc. edit. pp. 668-670.)

[1] This will not appear remarkable to those who consider Welsh's strong, or even vehement, desire to be employed in preaching the Gospel. At this period, he writes from Bourdeaux to Boyd of Trochrig, then at Samur, (26th June 1607,) deploring his "unprofitableness now, standing as it war idle, and the Maister of the vynezaird as yet not having hyrit me to work in the same heir in this countrey. These, I say, can nocht but mak it somquhat sowr unto flesch and blood, ... desyring and thristing for na uther thing under heaven bot that I may be fruitfullie, with comfort, imployed in his work efter the maner and the place and part wher the only wyse God has appointit and decreitt . . . . ."—(See Wodrow Miscellany, vol. i. p. 546.) In the same letter, Welsh opens up yet more of the peculiarities of his character as a man who had learned to "awaitt . . . . with contentation of mynd, when the Master himself sall come and hyir me, as he had done utheris, to work in his vynzaird, trusting that he will not suffer me still to be idle. . . . . I desyre nocht to ryn till he send me. I desyre nocht to be the choser my self, either of the work, maner, tym, or place of my service in his house."—(See the Letter.) It speaks of his wife as "beiring her croce with confort and contentation." In a letter dated 29th June 1607, Monsieur Montmartine informs Boyd of Trochrig that "Welsh is now preaching most peaceably and freely at Bourdeaux, and that at present he is at the Baiths."—(See Wodrow's Biograph. Collect. vol. ii. part i., Maitland Club edit. p. 54.) The same work (p. 56) contains a letter from M. Du Plessis to the Presbytery of Ayr, in August 1607. It was sent to Ayr by Boyd of Trochrig, and from the same volume, (p. 281-286,) we find that Welsh was kept informed of all that was done in Scotland "by sundre faythfull godle brether out of sundre presbiteries, to wit, Air, Edinburgh, Tranent, Melros, and sum oyers." In a letter dated 11th March 1607, he gives Boyd of Trochrig a minute account of the state of matters in their native country, especially regarding the convention of Linlithgow. From a subsequent letter, dated 16th March 1607, it appears that Welsh was sought by deputies, from Dijon, at the Synod of Rochelle, "to teich theologie amangis thame." In another (April 16, 1607) to Boyd, we find Welsh desiring him to "wrytt to M. Plessei, to sie gyf the tolerance may be obteint of y^r K[ing] to preich to Scottismen in the kirk of Burdowx, that it may not be offensive to

and, accordingly, was speedily called to the ministry, first in one village, then another, (one of them was Nerac,[1]) and thereafter was settled in Saint Jean d'Angely, a considerable walled town, and there he continued the rest of the time he sojourned in France, which was about sixteen years.[2] When he began first to preach, it

his M[ajesty."] At the same time he was in delicate health, and complains of that and of his "benummed and withered sowle." "Lo, Broyer," Welsh says to Boyd, "I speik truly as there is trewth in me, the whilk wrappis my soul in such confusions, that sumtymes all out-gait seems to be closit up, and I forcit to cry out of z^e very deipis," &c. &c. Referring to his life at Ayr, he says in the same letter, (7th May 1607,) "Alace, Broyer, everie ane knowis not what ance I enjoyit. Baith public and privat, by day and by night, my heart meltis in y^e remembrance of thame, and w^t sorrow and dolor ryvand y^e sowl, and piercing y^e very intrallis and lungis, do I now think of theme," &c. &c. The same interesting document contains Welsh's views of the kindness of "his flock, and private saints," in ministering to his wants when he was "exhaustit with extraordinarie charges in y^e tyme of his imprisonment, and his stipend taken from him, and he had na ordinar revenuis of living." He intimates that the Bishop of Glasgow had gone to France, and expresses the fear that Welsh and Forbes were to be driven from that kingdom at the bishop's suit. At one time Welsh entertained the purpose of going to Nova Scotia.—(See Wod. Biograph. &c., *ut supra*, p. 170.)

[1] The other was Jonsack, in the province of Angoumois, where, however, Welsh was settled against his will, and never was happy.—(See Letters in Wod. Miscell. p. 554.)

[2] Various proposals were made at different times regarding the station which Welsh should occupy in the Reformed Church of France. From a letter to Boyd of Trochrig, at Saumur, dated from Rochelle, 30th March 1609, it appears that arrangements had been made regarding him, of which he complained, and wished rather to leave the country than comply with the measures proposed. It seems to have arisen from competing calls from a church at Chatelherault, and that of Jonsack. Welsh decided for the former, but was sent to the latter "aganis his wil."—(See Miscellany, pp. 549, 550; also Wod. Biograph. &c., pp. 312-314.) In another letter, dated at Jonsack, the 4th of April 1611, Welsh writes to Boyd:— . . . . . "ceux de Bergerac m'ont recherché d'une affection tres-grande tant de la part des consuls de la ville, que du consistoire, et sont resolus de me demander au Synode prochain. . . . . Il y aura grande opposition de la part de cette Eglise, et de toute la noblesse de ce pays que m'affectioné fort." In the same letter he says:—"Mon ame n'a point du contentement ici," [at Jonsack.]—(Miscellany, p. 557.) In a letter to Boyd, preserved by Wodrow, Welsh says of his treatment at Jonsack:—"We are heir in a miserable hole, without pity or compassion, among, as it were, Barbares. . . . . The indignities I receive, and hes receivit here, are intolerable." From Quick's Synodicon, vol. i. p. 324, it appears that he had made some strong endeavours to be removed from Jonsack.

was observed by some of his hearers, that while he continued in the doctrinal part of his sermon, he spoke very correct French; but when he came to his applications, and when his affections kindled, his fervour made him sometimes neglect the accuracy of the French construction; but there were godly young men who admonished him of this, which he took in very good part: so for preventing mistakes of that kind, he desired the young gentlemen, when they perceived him beginning to decline, to give him a sign; and the sign was, they were both to stand up upon their feet, and thereafter he was more exact in his expression through his whole sermon: so desirous was he not only to deliver good matter, but to recommend it in neat expression.

There were many times persons of great quality in his auditory,

The following extract is from the account of the doings of the Synod of St Maixant, (1609:)—"Monsieur Welsh, a Scotchman, minister in the province of Xaintonge, appealed from the said province, because that in its last synod, held at Rochell, they had adjudged his ministry in the church of Jonsac, until such time as God should recall him back to Scotland, which was a grievance to him. This Assembly having read his letter, and the reasons urged for him, and for the province against him, approveth the judgment of the province, and decrees that he shall serve in the said church: However, for the consolation of the said Mr Welsh, it enjoins the next colloquy of the classis of Jonsac, or the synod to deliberate what will be best expedient both for him and the church; and in case he be not inclined to serve the said church of Jonsac, another church shall be provided for him within the province, such an one as may be most meet for him, excepting that of Pons, to which he was once presented by this Assembly. And, farther, he is commanded, both in preaching and the exercise of discipline, to conform unto that order and manner used and accustomed in the churches of this kingdom."

In enumerating the ministers in the colloquy of Jonsac, preparatory to the Synod of Rochelle, 1607, Quick (i. 254) has the following entry:—"Mr Pollot, dead since,—James Guibert, who revolted,—after him holy Mr Welch, a Scotch minister, who spent eight hours every day in prayer."—(See also Wod. Soc. Miscellany, pp. 551-554.) In the account of the Synod of Alez, (1620,) in Quick, (ii. 64,) we find the following entry under the head "Dividend among all the provinces of 250,000 livres, given by his Majesty to the Reformed Churches of France:"—"To the province of Xaintonge, eighty portions for sixty-three pastors in actual service; three portions for Monsieur Welsh, Tholouse, Gubard; one portion for Monsieur Bonnet, &c. . . . . 12,719 livres." There are a few other references to Welsh in the Synodicon, but these are the chief.

before whom he was just as bold as ever he had been in a Scottish village, which moved Mr Thomas Boyd of Trochrig once to ask him, after he had preached before the University of Saumur with such boldness and authority, as if he had been before the meanest congregation, How he could be so confident among strangers, and persons of such quality? To which he answered, That he was so filled with the dread of God, he had no apprehension from man at all: and this answer, said Mr Boyd, did not remove my admiration, but rather increase it.[1]

There was in his house, amongst many others who tabled with him for good education, a young gentleman of great quality and suitable expectations, and this was the heir of the Lord Ochiltree, who was captain of the Castle of Edinburgh. Always this young nobleman, after he had gained very much on Mr Welsh's affections, fell sick of a grievous sickness; and after he had been long wasted with it, closed his eyes, and expired as dying men use to do. So to the apprehension and sense of all spectators, he was no more but a carcase, and was therefore taken out of his bed and laid upon a pallet on the floor, that his body might be the more conveniently dressed, as dead bodies use to be. This was to Mr Welsh a very great grief; and therefore he staid with the young man's dead body full three hours, lamenting over him with great tenderness. After twelve hours friends brought in a coffin, whereinto they desired the corpse to be put, as the custom is. But Mr Welsh desired that, for the satisfaction of his affections, they would forbear the youth for a time, which they granted, and returned not till twenty-four hours after his death were expired. Then they

[1] In a letter to Boyd of Trochrig, after referring to the dangerous illness of his wife, and other trials, Welsh (Jonsack, 20th May 1609) mentions with much feeling the favour which he had received from the French churches. It would appear that his position had been considered in various synods, at Rochfoucault, at St Jean, and Rochelle.—(Miscellany, p. 552.) In another letter (3d May 1612) he says:—"My famille hes bene, and zit is, exercisit with continual affliction. . . . . On grief tumbles on upon ane uther. . . . . The coup is bitter, bot I trust the fruit sall be sweeter. I dwyne and deis in langueor."—(Miscellany, p. 558.)

returned, desiring with great importunity the corpse might be coffined, that it might be speedily buried, the weather being extremely hot: yet he persisted in his request, earnestly begging them to excuse him for once more: so they left the youth upon his pallet for full thirty-six hours. But even after all that, though he was urged, not only with great earnestness, but displeasure, they were constrained to forbear for twelve hours yet more. After forty-eight hours were past, Mr Welsh was still where he was; and then his friends perceived he believed the young man was not really dead, but under some apoplectic fit, and therefore proponed to him, for his satisfaction, that trial should be made upon his body by doctors and chirurgeons, if possibly any spark of life might be found in him; and with this he was content. So the physicians are set on work, who pinched him with pincers in the fleshy parts of his body, and twisted a bow-string about his head with great force, but no sign of life appeared in him, so the physicians pronounce him stark dead; and then there was no more delay to be desired. Yet Mr Welsh begged of them once more, that they would but step in to the next room for an hour or two, and leave him with the dead youth; and this they granted. Then Mr Welsh fell down before the pallet, and cried to the Lord with all his might for the last time, and sometimes looking upon the dead body, continuing in wrestling with the Lord, till at length the dead youth opened his eyes, and cried out to Mr Welsh, whom he distinctly knew, O Sir, I am all whole but my head and legs: and these were the places they had sore hurt with their pinching.

When Mr Welsh perceived this, he called upon his friends, and showed them the dead young man restored to life again, to their great astonishment. And this young nobleman, though his father lost the estate of Ochiltree,[1] lived to acquire a great estate in Ireland, and was Lord Castlesteuart, and a man of such excellent parts, that he was courted by the Earl of Strafford to be a counseller in Ireland, which he refused to be until the godly silenced

[1] See Miscellany of Wod. Soc. p. 554.

Scottish ministers, who suffered under the bishops in the north of Ireland, were restored to the exercise of their ministry, and then he engaged, and so continued for all his life, not only in honour and power, but in the possession and practice of godliness, to the great comfort of the country where he lived. This story the nobleman communicated to his friends in Ireland, and from them I had it.

While Mr Welsh was minister in one of these French villages, upon an evening a certain Popish friar travelling through the country, because he could not find lodging in the whole village, addressed himself to Mr Welsh's house for one night. The servants acquainted their master, and he was content to receive this guest. The family had supped before he came, and so the servants convoyed the friar to his chamber; and after they had made his supper, they left him to his rest. There was but a timber partition betwixt him and Mr Welsh; and after the friar had slept his first sleep, he was surprised with the noise of a silent but constant whispering noise, at which he wondered very much, and was not a little troubled with it. The next morning he walked in the fields, where he chanced to recounter a country man, who saluting him because of his habit, asked him where he had lodged that night? The friar answered, He had lodged with the Huguenot minister. Then the country man asked him what entertainment he had? The friar answered, Very bad. For (said he) I always held there were devils haunting these ministers' houses, and I am persuaded there was one with me this night; for I heard a continual whisper all the night over, which I believe was no other thing than the minister and the devil conversing together. The country man told him he was much mistaken; and that it was nothing else but the minister at his night prayer. O, said the friar, does the minister pray any? Yes, more than any man in France, answered the country man; and if you please to stay another night with him you may be satisfied. The friar got him home to Mr Welsh's house, and pretending indisposition, entreated another night's lodging, which was granted him.

Before dinner, Mr Welsh came from his chamber, and made his

family exercise according to his custom. And first he sung a psalm, then read a portion of Scripture, and discoursed upon it: thereafter he prayed with great fervour, as his custom was; to all which the friar was an astonished witness. After the exercise they went to dinner, where the friar was very civilly entertained, Mr Welsh forbearing all question and dispute for the time. When the evening came, Mr Welsh made his exercise as he had done in the morning, which occasioned yet more wondering in the friar. And after supper to bed they all went; but the friar longed much to know what the night whisper was, and in that he was soon satisfied; for after Mr Welsh's first sleep the noise began; and then the friar resolved to be sure what it was, so he crept to Mr Welsh's chamber door, and there he heard not only the sound, but the words distinctly, and communications betwixt man and God, and such as he knew not had been in the world. Upon this, the next morning, as soon as Mr Welsh was ready, the friar went to him, and told him that he had been bred in ignorance, and lived in darkness all his time; but now he was resolved to adventure his soul with Mr Welsh, and thereupon declared himself Protestant. Mr Welsh welcomed him and encouraged him, and he continued a constant Protestant to his dying day. This story I had from a godly minister, who was bred in Mr Welsh's house in France, about the year 16—.

When Lewis XIII., King of France, made war upon the Protestants there because of their religion, the city of Saint Jean d'Angely was by him and his royal army besieged, and brought into extreme danger. Mr Welsh was minister in the town, and mightily encouraged the citizens to hold out, assuring them God should deliver them. In the time of the siege a cannon-ball pierced the bed where he was lying, upon which he got up, but would not leave the room till he had by solemn prayer acknowledged his deliverance. During this siege the townsmen[1] made stout defence, till

[1] In a letter, dated St Jean d'Angeli, 18th May 1618, addressed to Boyd of Trochrig, then Principal of Glasgow College, Welsh says:—"As for my estait, and that of my familie, our brother wil informe zow, particularlie ane mervcillous

once one of the king's gunners planted a great gun so conveniently upon a rising ground, that therewith he could command the whole wall, upon which the townsmen made their greatest defence. Upon this they were constrained to forsake the whole wall in great terror; and though they had several guns planted upon the wall, no man durst undertake to manage them. This being told Mr Welsh with great affrightment, he notwithstanding encouraged them still to hold out; and running to the wall himself, found the cannonier (who was a Burgundian) near the wall: him he entreated to mount the wall, promising to assist him in person: so to the wall they got. The cannonier told Mr Welsh that either they behoved to dismount the gun upon the rising ground, or else were surely lost. Mr Welsh desired him to aim well, and he should serve him, and God would help him: so the gunner falls a scouring his piece, and Mr Welsh runs to the powder to fetch him a charge; but as soon as he was returning, the king's gunner fires his piece, which carried both the powder and ladle out of Mr Welsh's hands, which yet did not discourage him; for having left the ladle, he filled his hat with powder, wherewith the gunner loaded his piece, and dismounted the king's gun at the first shot: so the citizens returned to their post of defence.

This discouraged the king so that he sends to the citizens to offer them fair conditions; which were, that they should enjoy the liberty of their religion, their civil privileges, and their walls should not be demolished; only the king desired for his honour that he might enter the city with his servants in a friendly manner. This the city thought fit to grant; and the king with a few more entered the city for a short time. But while the king was in the city, Mr Welsh preached, as was his ordinary, which much offended the French court: so on a day while he was at sermon, the king

providence in oppening to me a dorr, by ane extraordinarie maner, in this kirk heir, with the consent of all, and approbation of all, as thocht it had nocht bein bot ane only man with ane only heart." He adds, "weaknes of bodie growis now greitlie, and syndrie sumonis to flit owt of this lyfe. The Lord prepare, for his Sone's saik."—(Miscellany, p. 562.)

sent the Duke de Espernon to fetch him out of the pulpit into his presence. The duke went with his guard; and as soon as he entered the church where Mr Welsh was preaching, Mr Welsh commanded to make way, and to set a seat that the duke might hear the word of the Lord. The duke, instead of interrupting him, sat down, and gravely heard the sermon to an end; and then told Mr Welsh he behoved to go with him to the king, which Mr Welsh willingly did. When the duke came to the king, the king asked him why he brought not the minister with him, and why he did not interrupt him? The duke answered, Never man spoke like this man, but that he had brought him with him. Whereupon Mr Welsh is called; and when he entered the king's room, he kneeled upon his knees, and silently prayed for wisdom and assistance. Thereafter the king challenged him how he durst preach where he was, since it was against the laws of France that any man should preach within the verge of his court. Mr Welsh answered him, Sir, if you did right, you would come and hear me preach, and make all France hear me likewise; for (said he) I preach not as those men you use to hear preach. My preaching differs from theirs in these two points: First, I preach you must be saved by the death and merits of Jesus Christ, and not your own. Next, I preach, (said he,) that as you are King of France, you are under the authority and command of no man on earth. Those men (said he) whom you hear subject you to the Pope of Rome, which I will never do. The king replied no more, but *Eh, bien vous seriez mon ministre:* Well, well, you shall be my minister: and some say called him father, which is an honour the King of France bestows upon few of the greatest prelates in France. However, he was favourably dismissed at that time, and the king also left the city in peace.[1]

[1] Fleming (Fulfilling of Scripture) gives a somewhat different account. According to him, Welsh said to the king:—"For my doctrine, I did this day preach these three truths to your people. 1. That man is fallen, and by nature in a lost condition; yea, by his own power and abilities is not able to help himself from that estate. 2. That there is no salvation or deliverance from wrath

But within a short time thereafter[1] the war was renewed, and then Mr Welsh told the inhabitants of the city that now their cup was full, and they should no more escape: which accordingly came to pass, for the king took the town; and as soon as ever it fell into his hand, he commanded Vitry, the captain of his guard, to enter the town, and preserve his minister from all danger; and then were horses and waggons provided for Mr Welsh to transport him and his family for Rochelle, whither he went, and there sojourned for a time. This story my Lord Kenmure, who was bred in Mr Welsh's house, told Mr Livingston, minister at Ancrum, and from him I had it.

After his flock in France was scattered, he obtained liberty to come to England; and his friends made hard suit that he might be permitted to return to Scotland, because the physicians declared there was no other way to preserve his life[2] but by the freedom he might have in his native air. But to this King James would never yield, protesting he should never be able to establish his beloved bishops in Scotland if Mr Welsh were permitted to return thither: so he languished at London a considerable time. His disease was judged by some to have a tendency to a sort of leprosy: physicians said he had been poisoned. A languor he had, together with a great weakness in his knees, caused by his continual kneeling at prayer: by which it came to pass, that though he was able to move his knees, and to walk, yet he was wholly insensible in them, and the flesh became hard like a sort of horn. But when in the time of his weakness he was desired to remit somewhat of his excessive painfulness, his answer was, He had his life of God, and therefore it should be spent for him.

by our own merits, but by Jesus Christ and his merit alone. 3. I did also preach this day the just liberties of the kingdome of France—that your Majesty oweth obedience to Christ onely, who is Head of the Church; and that the Pope, as he is an enemy to Christ and his truth, so also to the kings of the earth, whom he keepeth under slavery to his usurped power."

[1] 1622.—(Livingston.)

[2] "The sad case of the churches of France, Bohemia, and Germany, brake his heart."—(M. Crawford, Preface to Welsh's *Popery Anatomized.*)

His friends importuned King James very much that if he might not return into Scotland, at least he might have liberty to preach at London, which King James would never grant till he heard all hopes of life were past, and then he allowed him liberty to preach, not fearing his activity.[1]

Always as soon as ever he heard he might preach, he greedily embraced this liberty; and having access to a lecturer's pulpit, he went and preached both long and fervently, which was the last performance of his life; for after he had ended sermon, he returned to his chamber, and within two hours, quietly, and without pain, he resigned his spirit into his Maker's hands, and was buried near

[1] This subject is thus noticed by Dr M'Crie, Life of Knox, 5th edit. p. 273:—"Having lost his health [in France,] and the physician informing him that the only prospect he had of recovering it was by returning to his native country, Mr Welch ventured in the year 1622 to come to London. But his own sovereign was incapable of treating him with that generosity which he had experienced from the French monarch; and dreading the influence of a man who was far gone with a consumption, he absolutely refused to give him permission to return to Scotland. Mrs Welch, by means of some of her mother's relations at Court, obtained access to James, and petitioned him to grant this liberty to her husband. The following singular conversation took place on that occasion:—His Majesty asked her who was her father? She replied, 'John Knox.' 'Knox and Welch,' exclaimed he, 'the devil never made such a match as that.' 'It's right-like, Sir,' said she, 'for we never speired his advice.' He asked her how many children her father had left, and if they were lads or lasses. She said three, and they were all lasses. 'God be thanked!' cried the king, lifting up both his hands; 'for an they had been three lads, I had never bruicked my three kingdoms in peace.' She again urged her request that he would give her husband his native air. 'Give him his native air,' replied the king; 'Give him the devil.' 'Give that to your hungry courtiers,' said she, offended at his profaneness. He told her at last that if she would persuade her husband to submit to the bishops, he would allow him to return to Scotland. Mrs Welch, lifting up her apron, and holding it towards the king, replied, in the true spirit of her father, 'Please your Majesty, I'd rather kep his head there.'" In a note to this passage, Dr M'Crie adds:—"James stood in great awe of Mr Welch, who often reproved him for his habit of profane swearing. If he had at any time been swearing in a public place, he would have turned round and asked if Welch was near." For an account of the attempts to induce Welsh to favour prelacy, see Murray's Lit. Hist. &c. pp. 72, 73.

Mr Deering,[1] the famous English divine, after he had lived little more than two and fifty years.[2]

[1] He was born in Kent, and was a preacher of great note in London. He died in 1576.—(Gillies' Hist. Coll. i. 107.)

[2] Dr Murray says that Welsh's death "took place in 1622, in the fiftieth year of his age." Dr M'Crie, Life of Knox, 5th edit. p. 274, writes as follows:—"Welch was soon after released from the power of the despot, and from his sufferings. 'This month of May 1622,' says one of his intimate friends, Boyd of Trochrig, 'we received intelligence of the death of that holy servant of God, Mr Welch, one of the fathers and pillars of that church, and the light of his age, who died at London, an exile from his native country, on account of his opposition to the re-establishment of Episcopal government, and his firm support of the Presbyterian and Synodical discipline, received and established among us, and that after eighteen years' banishment,—a man full of the Holy Spirit, zeal, charity, and incredible diligence in the duties of his office.'" The death of his wife, adds Dr M'Crie, is recorded by the same pen:—"This month of January 1625, died at Ayr, my cousin, Mrs Welch, daughter of that great servant of God, the late John Knox, and wife of that holy man of God, Mr Welch, above-mentioned; a spouse and daughter worthy of such a husband and such a father." Her will, as given by Dr M'Crie in his Appendix, is curious. For Boyd's account of the death of Welsh, see Wod. Biograph. Coll. vol. ii. p. i. Maitland Club edit. pp. 262, 263. For Boyd's reference to the death of Welsh's wife, see *ibid.* p. 268.

APPENDIX TO THE HISTORY OF MR JOHN WELSH.

NOTE A.

(*Referred to at p.* 6.)

THE following extracts from the Records of the Kirk-Session of Ayr tend to throw light on the manners of Welsh's time, and the endeavours made to improve them referred to in the text. The first volume of these records that is extant has the following inscription at the commencement:—

"The session-buik of Ayr, begining the x of Decēber 1604, Mr J. Welshce, minister."

The next leaf contains a list of "The elders and deacons on the fyrst of November 1603." Then follows a list of the penalties to be enacted for the promotion of discipline, the heading of which is somewhat defaced. The following are the first three under the side head of "Violators of y^e^ Sabboth."

"For the first fault sal mak y^r^ repentance publiclie in y^e^ pulpit, and sal pey . . . . . vi^s^ 8^d^ [6s. 8d.]

"For y^e^ secund fault sal stand tua dayis in y^r^ awn claithis in y^e^ publik place of repentance, and sal pey . xiii^s^ 4^d^ [13s. 4d.]

"For the thrid falt sal stand thre saboth, and pey . xx^s^" [20s.]

The date of the first meeting of session is obliterated. The first two or three entries refer to the "purs of the pure;" and the fourth

"Ordaines the names of sik as wil not pey y^r contributiouns to the pure, that they be givin in to the magistrats that they tak ordour w^t them. And, lykewyse, y^t publik intimatioun be made out of y^e pulpit that y^r names salbe expressit openlie the Saboth-day following y^reft," [thereafter.]

The following are a few of the minutes:—

"Comperit Jo^n M'Weyain's woman, and accusit for byding lait at evin out of her maister's hous. Scho anserit, that James Bon in Camonel was desyring her be way of mariage: And being requyrit if scho wald purge hirself, scho said scho wold; bot y^e sessioun gave it to her advysement vntill y^e next day, and warnit $y^r$to *apud acta*."

"Ordaines ilk ane y^t gives in y^r bands of mariage, consigne ane sax pund peice at the least o^r mair, according to y^r abilitie, that they sal lyfte thair bands of mariage, or else tyne thair money."

"Remember to sumon George Wilsoun for walking claith on y^e Saboth-day."

"The sessioun cōvenit the 24 of December 1604. Being p^{nt} v^t the $minist^r$, [Mr Welsh,] David Fergussoun, &c.

"Compeirit Jonet Hunter, accusit of sklandering Simon Gilmor and his wyfe. Maid publik satisfactioun to y^e said persouns sklanderit; and band hirself, if scho were fund in the lyk to yame or anie vtheris, scho salbe severlie punisht."

"Remember to summon $Alex^r$ and George Provancis, quha at midnight fell to uther, and cruelie dang and bluidit uther, and had almaist brokin y^r mother's arme, and is continuallie misuseris of y^r mother. Gevin vp be William Rankein."

"Compeirit Bessie Rankein and Maggie Speir, accusit of flyting and scolding togidder. Maid y^r confessioun before the sessioun, and wer admonishit if they be fund in the lyke againe, they salbe mair severelie punishit, and y^r penaltie doublit."

"Compeirit Thomas Harvie, accusit of shedding y^e bluid of George Law, the man beand tryit by the magistratis, and reported

to the sessioun by Johne Rankein, baillie. Y^e^ said Thomas Harvie was thocht blameles, becaus he did it in redding: Thairfoir ordaines to summon y^e^ said George Law to the next day."

"Remember to summon Alex^r^ Lokhart's wyfe for ressaving Alex^r^ Kennedy, excommunicat, unwitting of her husband."

"Remember to summon Pet. Cuninghame, flesher, John Bowie, servant to Robert Riddall, Alex^r^ Thompsoun, barrowman, Margret Corvat, washer, Jonet Thompsoun, old and zoung, and y^r^ brother Johne Thompsoun, William M'Jonet, barrowman, and Jonet Speir, quha war fund absent fra the kirk in time of preiching."

"*Session, last of December.*—Remember to summon William Ingrame, smith, and Jonet Speir his wyfe, for y^e^ criminal flyting togedder, baith on Saturday at evin, at supper tyme, and also on the Sabboth at evin, at y^e^ coming fra y^e^ kirk; and warne also y^r^ hyreman, and y^r^ women, to witness q^lk^ of thame beginnis the pley. Faile not to warne them by ane y^e^ morne."

"Remember to summon Johne Cunninghame y^e^ walker, becaus his servant, George Wilsoun, walket his claith on y^e^ Sabboth-day; and remember to declare y^e^ said George Wilsoun to the presbyterie."

"Compeirit Alex^r^ Thompsoun, Jonet Thompsoun, elder and zounger, accusit for brek of Sabboth. Confessit y^e^ same before y^e^ sessioun, and were fund in the lyke. Ar ordanit to be put in the thefis hoal."

"*Session, 7th Jan.* 1605.—The sessioun discharged Margaret Kennedy for ressaving the Laird of Stair in hir hous, q^ll^ the presbiterie tuik ordour with him."

"Remember to summon Johne Peddie for his flyting with his wyfe, and blaspheming y^e^ name of God, upon Sunday was aucht dayis at evin."

"*Session, 14th Jan.* 1605.—Remember zet [yet] to delyver Johne Boyd, boater, and his wyfe, vnto the magistrats, y^t^ he be

put in ward vntill y^e^ counsal tak cair, y^t^ if they be fund agane in onie publik scandal, they salbe banishit the toun."

"*Session*, 21*st Jan.* 1605.—Remember zet to summon John Busbie, quha hes not satisfied v^t^ Johne Daviesoun, younger, for y^r^ tuilzieing togedder y^e^ Saboth-day."

"Remember to summon Jo^n^ Dalrumple, chopman, to declair y^e^ caus quhy he hes not satisfied for his odious blasphemie, in taking a peice flesh, and casting it fra him, said that was y^e^ flesh of Chryst, as himself confessit befoir y^e^ sessioun hodin y^e^ xvi day of Apryle 1604."

"*Session*, 18*th Feb.* 1605.—The q^lk^ day y^e^ minister, eldaris, deaconis, and haill sessioun, hes statute and ordanit, for eschewing of al grossnes and sclander, y^t^ in case any persoun or persouns sal heir ony suspicioun of publik or privat sin upon any of y^r^ neighbouris, that y^e^ persoun y^t^ sal heir y^e^ same, he sal comunicat y^e^ mat^r^ privatlie wi^t^ y^e^ pairtie, to y^e^ effect y^e^ sclander may be removit quyetlie. And gif y^e^ sam be reveillit publiklie, ether upon y^e^ hie streit, or befoir ony vitnesses except ane, eldaris or deacouns allanerlie; in y^t^ case y^e^ persoun, publisher of y^e^ suspecioun, salbe counted a sclanderer, and punishit y^r^foir, as accordis, or ordanis publik intimatioun to be maid of y^e^ act, out of pulpit, y^e^ next Sabboth-day."

"*Session*, 25*th Feb.* 1605.—Remember also Christine Striveling for her feirful blasphemies in cursing baith her body and saul, and for her abuising of y^e^ worship of God, y^t^ wald not suffer y^e^ grace to be said, or y^e^ chapter to be red. Givin vp be W^m^ Renkine upon the report of Andro Fergusson, quha was ane eywitnes y^r^to."

"Ordanis publik intimatioun to be maid, y^t^ in case ony persoun or persouns at ony tyme heirafter sall find, heir, or see ony ryme or cokalane,[1] y^t^ they sall reveil y^e^ same first to ane eldar privatlie,

[1] *Cockalan*—a comic or ludicrous representation.

and to na vther; and in case they faillie yᵉin in reveiling of yᵉ same to any vther, yᵗ persoun salbe esteamit to be yᵉ author of yᵉ said ryme them selfis, and salbe punishit yᵉfoir, conforme to yᵉ actis of yᵉ kirk and yᵉ laws of yᵉ realme: and further, in caise ony persoun or persouns sal at onie tyme heirafter mak mentioun of yᵉ cartils and ryms . . . [in part illegible] . . . against yᵉ worship of God, or against yᵉ zoung women of this toun, ether in privat or publik, to ony of yᵉ nighbours, or publiklie, yᵉ persoun speikin or heirin of yᵉ same sal mak yᵉ public repentance yᵉfoir. Also, gyf ony ludge travellours in yᵉ hous on yᵉ Saturday at night, that they sal permit not them to depairt away on yᵉ Saboth day under yᵉ pane of . . . ." [obliterated.]

[Welsh was absent at the sederunt of February 28, 1605. At next meeting, 4th March, this entry occurs:—"Continewis all thingis unto yᵉ next day, becaus of yᵉ minister's absence." The minister is also absent at the meeting on the 11th, when the Session "ordanis yet to mak the third publick prayer for Joⁿ Glover, qˡᵏ was delyit becaus of yᵉ minister's absence."]

"24*th March* 1605.—[Minister present.] Remember to summon Thomas Smal for playing at yᵉ coppihoall in the kirk-door, wᵗ vtheris wᵗ him, on yᵉ Saboth day. Geven up be Andro Fergussoun."

"*Session*, 1*st April* 1605.—Remember yᵗ intimatioun be maid publiklie yᵉ next Sabboth day, yᵗ quhosoever hes yᵉ bairnis rinnand and playing in the streets, or yᵉ servands, on yᵉ Saboth day, at ony tyme ether morning or evining, the wyte salbe imputed to yᵉ parents or maisters quais bairnis or servands salbe fund giltie."

"*Session*, 8*th April* 1605.—Remember to summon John Maxuell and the Laird of Barr's sones, yᵗ uses to play at yᵉ carts on the Saboth day."

"*Session*, 15*th April* 1605.—Compeirit Johne and George Lokharts, sones of y^e^ Laird of Bar, and John Maxuell, accusit of profaning y^e^ Saboth in y^e^ playing at vaine games: they confessit y^r^off, and promest to forbeir in tyme coming, and satisfied befoir y^e^ sessioun."

"*Session*, 22*d April* 1605.—The q^lk^ day compeirit Jonet Hunter, accusit as ane verie vitious woman and common sklanderer, quha also, in face of sessioun, threatened her guidman, Robert Rankin. Ordanit to stand in hir linning schiettis at y^e^ cors four market dayis, and to begin on Fryday next y^e^ xxvi. of Apryle: As also, to stand at ye kirk dor certain dayis upon ye Sabboth, and w^t^in y^e^ kirk in place of publick repentance; and this forme to continew ay and quhill y^r^ appeir certain signes of her repentance."

[The minister was not present at the sederunt of 1st July, having, no doubt, left Ayr for Aberdeen, where he was on the 4th July. Present, however, on the 15th. Absent on the "penult of Julie" 1605, having been summoned to Edinburgh on the 25th.]

"*Session, penult of July* 1605.—Compeirit William Nesbit and Mareoun Adam, confessit y^r^ sin of fornication, gave in y^r^ bands of mariage, is ordanit to mak y^r^ repentance, and to pay y^r^ penaltie, viz., y^e^ woman x.^s^, and to stand in y^e^ pillar ane day, and befoir y^e^ pulpit on y^e^ day of y^r^ mariage, and y^e^ man to pay xx.^s^, and to purge his offence on y^e^ day of y^r^ mariage."

"Ordanis to proclame out y^e^ pulpit, y^t^ everie man continew peying y^e^ contributiouns to y^e^ pure vntil y^e^ minister his hame coming." It is needless to add, that that event never took place.

(These extracts have been kindly furnished by JAMES PATERSON, Esq., Observer Office, Ayr, and are of importance, not merely as showing the measures adopted by Welsh to improve his parishioners, but also because they help to determine some of the dates, regarding which there exists so much confusion.)

NOTE B.

(*Referred to at p.* 7.)

The first edition of Welsh's Reply to Brown was printed in 4to, at Edinburgh, by Robert Waldegrave, in 1602, and reprinted in 1672 by Matthew Crawford, minister of Eastwood, under the title of "Popery Anatomized." It is on the second edition that we offer the following remarks :—The full title is, "Popery Anatomized: Or, a learned, pious, and elaborat Treatise, wherein many of the greatest and mightiest points of Controversie between us and Papists are handled, and the truth of our doctrine clearly proved: And the falsehood of their Religion and Doctrine anatomized and laid open, and most evidently convicted and confuted by Scripture, Fathers, and also by some of their own Popes, Doctors, Cardinals, and of their own Writers. In answer to Mr Gilbert Brown, Priest. By that learned, singularly pious, and eminently faithful servant of Jesus Christ, Mr JOHN WELSCH, minister of the Gospel, first at Kirkcudbright, next at Air in Scotland, and last at S. John d'Angely in France. The second edition, revised, corrected, and divided into sections; to which is annexed, a discovery of the bloody, rebellious, and treasonable principles and practises of Papists in dissolving oaths, committing treason, raising wars and commotions, and using unparalleled cruelties towards Protestants. By MATTHEW CRAFORD. Glasgow. By Robert Sanders, Printer to the City and University. 1672."

The treatise of Welsh is dedicated to James VI.; and, in the style peculiar to that age, the author addresses that monarch in words which he would perhaps not have employed after his imprisonment in Blackness, his trial at Linlithgow, and his exile in France. Yet with all the loyalty which characterizes the "Epistle Dedicatory," Welsh is faithful to his king in the highest sense: he warns him that the errors against which he wrote would "soon pass from families to tribes, from private houses to temples, from the worship

of the *round bread* to the worship of stocks and stones," unless met in the manner which Welsh proposed. It appears that the work was published at the request of King James; for towards the close of the Epistle, Welsh addresses his Majesty thus:—"Your Majesty did exceedingly encourage me to let it go forth unto the light: what by your Majesty's most gracious acceptation of mine endeavours, and most favorable censure and approbation of my labors: what by your Majesty's humane counsel and advise, confirmed by your Majesty's priviledge and authority to me to publish the same." It is dated, "From Air, the 18 of November 1602."

The occasion of the "Reply" is thus stated by Welsh in his "Address to the Christian Reader:"—One of his hearers had been in conference with a Romanist, who had pledged himself to "renounce Papistry" if any one could be found who had professed the Protestant religion "before Martin Luther." Welsh was desired to meet the challenge "in write." "The which I did, (he says,) and set it down in this form as thou seest it here. So this being carried to Mr Gilbert Brown, he writes an answer to it, and sent it to me, unto the which I have made this reply: Thou hast them all three here: first, that which I did write, then his answer to it, and then my reply to his answer." The "conscience of his own temeritie and weakness" long hindered Welsh from publishing; and "the continual burden of a fourfold teaching every week in his ordinary charge, beside other both privat and publick duties, which not only his own people, but also the desolate country, craved," were additional causes of delay. The work, in the second edition, extends to 440 closely printed pages, small 8vo, and indicates both Welsh's acuteness as a controversialist, and his learning as a theologian. It is divided into twenty-eight sections, and embraces all the topics of the Popish controversy from the question, "Is the Church of Rome a true Church?" through her claim to infallibility, to be the sole judge in controversies, transubstantiation, the mass, confession, extreme unction, the sacraments, good works, works of supererogation, to the copestone of the whole, "that the Pope is Antichrist." Divested of some of the peculiarities of those

times, Welsh's "Popery Anatomized" would still form an admirable hand-book of the whole Popish controversy,—the more convenient that it brings the defender and the assailant of the system face to face, where each puts forth his utmost ingenuity and strength. The amount of Welsh's learning, as indicated by this frequently subtle and elaborate treatise, is matter of surprise, when we consider that his was signally an age and a life of action. He underrates his antagonist when he speaks of him as unlearned; for though Brown was no match for Welsh either in acuteness or in learning, he must have been one of the most respectable men of his order as a scholar; and perhaps, with a few retrenchments, this treatise of Welsh, embodying the arguments of Brown, would, if republished, afford as complete a view of the Popish controversy, on both sides of the question, as could be found in any single volume of the same size.

We have seen that the "Epistle Dedicatory" was dated "From Air, 18 of November 1602." Dr Murray (Literary History of Galloway) says, "The Introductory Address to Gilbert Brown is dated from Kirkcudbright in August of 1599."

Note C.

(*Referred to at p.* 16.)

The following are the views taken of this memorable trial both by some of the sufferers, and by men of all shades of opinion from that period to the present day:—

"Their speeches ended, (viz., those of Welsh and Forbes to the jury and judges,) Mr Robert Durie, in name of the rest, and in his own name, spoke to the Justice and whole assembly, that seeing there was sufficient testimony given them, if they liked to consider it, they would add no more; but they all approved and ratified that whilk was spoken as all their minds and meanings. We cannot here pass in silence the strange and diverse effects that

thir speeches did work in the heads of the beholders: some witnessing their detestation of so great and scandalous iniquity in the counsell, justices, and commissioners, be the indignation of their countenance; others manifesting their pitie and just commiseration of the most unjust sufferings of the pannel by their tears; but most of all, the justices and speciale counsellours uttering the astonishment of their heart and horrour of their conscience be the confusion of their faces. And, last of all, the jurie, albeit diverse of them were brought there of purpose to convict the pannel, notwithstanding of any defence that should be made in the contrair, yet did they declare how far their hearts did scar to commit so monstrous and manifest a wickedness. Some, as namely, [Sir Patrick] Home of Polwart, earnestly intreating the Justice and his assessors, that he might be free of that matter, and another put in his place, alledging his ignorance, unskilfulness, weightiness, and strangeness of the matter itself, as being such the like whereof had never been practised in their tyme. Others, as namely, [John] Home of Northberwick, perceiving by the Justice's answer to the former, that no immunitie could be expected from the inquest, desiring the Justice to define the matter committed to their tryall, that they might clearly understand it, seeing the Advocate alledged that they had no more to cognosce but if the panel had declined; which was a matter not denyed by the panel, albeit the dittay was otherwise conceived, that they had treasonably declined. The Justice rejecting the answer to the clerk's information, and their own knowledge, others, namely, Dunipace, desired that in respect of the novelty of the matter, it might be delayed to the next day, that they might have more leisure to be more ripely advised therewith: which being refused, he earnestly entreated the Justice that they might have the advice of Mr Thomas Craig and Mr William Oliphant, lawyers, in a matter of sic weight whereof they themselves were so unskilful.

"All being repelled and refused, the assize or jury was inclosed apart by themselves, of whom there were diverse that had been particularly dealt with by the Lords to convict the pannel for his

Maj. pleasure, of which number [Henry] Stewart of Craighall was, who, notwithstanding that he was purposed to convict, yet to the intent he might have the greater credit with the rest of the jury, and be the less suspect by the panel, had both openly vowed that he should cleanse, if he were put on that inquest, and also privately had promised to some of the barons on the assize to do the same; whereupon the whole number, albeit of diverse dispositions, did constitute him foreman of the jury, or, as they call him, chancellor of the assize.

"The matter being proponed, all inclined to absolve the panel, in respect of the clear evidence of their innocence; whereupon Craighall, being obliged secretly to convict, did stay the voting; and leaving the rest, came out to the Justice and the Lords, (accompanied with the Justice-Clerk, who, contrarie to the law—Parliament [xi. July 29, 1587,] act 91—remained with the assize,) and signified to them what way the matter was like to go; whereupon they did direct the Justice-Depute, with Craighall and the Justice-Clerk, to the pannel, to desire them to lift their declinature that yet the matter might cease from farther process, and the assize be raised without any conclusion or sentence. The pannel continued still of one mind, offering to lift their declinature, providing the Lords would annull their process, and sit at Edinburgh the 24th of October, otherwise refusing for the reasons before alledged.

"The Lords finding no other remedy, did travail earnestly with those of the jury, whom they had brought to them, to that same effect, that they would convict the pannel, assuring them that the said conviction should tend to no prejudice either of the kirk or of their persons and estates who were on the pannell, but should serve as the meetest mean to pacify his Majesty, and so to prepare the way for their peace. The Justice-Clerk and Craighall returning to the assize, the matter is put to voting. Dunipace finding, upon the occasions foresaid, the greater part persuaded to convict, in great liberty, courage, and wisdom, after the declaration of the equity of the cause and innocency of the persons, did lay before the assize the undoubted heavy and terrible judgment of God abiding

them, if they should, for pleasuring of any flesh, or respect of this world, so manifestly against reason and good conscience, convict so innocent persons. Yet not the less, the most part being almost profane atheists, and men without God, or else weak-minded Christians, upon fear to offend, and moved of simplicity to credit the counsel's promise that no danger should follow, did file the pannel. These were, [Henry] Stewart of Craighall, [Sir Patrick] Home of Polwart, [Sir John] Home of Northberwick, [Sir George] Home of Broxmouth, [George] Home of Dams,[1] [Alexander] Home of Rentoun, [Sir James] Foster of Carden, James Gibb of Caribber, and Mark Swinton. The other six absolved the pannel, to wit:— [John] Livingstoun of Dunipace, [Sir Archibald] Stirling of Keir, [James] Schaw of Sauchie, [Thomas] Livingstoun of Partown,[2] [Robert] Livingstoun of West-Quarter, and Gavin Hume of Johnscleugh: having so concluded, they returned before the Justice. The chancellor of the assize declared the pannel to be convict of treasonable declining by the assize. The Justice, after a short and secret conference with the chancellor and Earl of Dunbar, did continue [delay] the pronouncing the doom till his Majesty's mind should be farther known; and ordained the pannel that night to be kept by the Earl of Linlithgow, and the morn to be conveyed to their waird in Blackness, there to remain.

"Who had been present might have seen the strange amazement and astonishment of all men at so fearful and detestable an iniquity, no man uttering any sign of joy, no not of the Lords, except these four allenarly: Dunfermling, chancellor; Dunbar, treasurer; Balmerinoch, president; Skene, comptroller; and Sir Thomas Hamilton, advocate. The rest bewraying the dolour of their hearts by their countenance; but above all the clerk-depute, who was with the assize, at whose unjust and godless proceedings being sore grieved, he could not abstain from moning openly before the whole assembly.

"Yet was the behaviour of the pannel no less admirable, who being nothing dismayed at that sentence, but shewing great cheerfulness in their countenances, they willed the Justice not to spare the execution more than the conviction, declaring that he would

[1] *Sic* in MS. [2] *Sic* in MS.

gain nothing by delay, seeing that they hoped in God that no drifting of time should cause them to alter; but as they were there ready most willingly to lay down their lives for Jesus' sake, and the liberty of his kingdom, for the whilk they exceedingly rejoiced that he had counted them worthy to suffer and to be condemned as malefactors, so by his grace they would hereafter be found no less ready-minded to confirm that testimony which they had given by their blood."—(*The Reformation of Religion in Scotland, written by that faithful servant and witness of Christ, Mr John Forbes,—MS. in the possession of Rev. Thomas M'Crie*, pp. 147–151.)

The "Warrant of Dome of Banischement is given at Hampton Courte, 26th day of September 1606." According to it, "the saidis persones were banischet all our soveraine lordis dominiones, during all the dayes of their naturall lyves." They were to return to their wards, had a month allowed to prepare for their exile, and the judgment adds, "before the expyreing quhairof gif thay depairt nocht, wynd and wedder serving, the said Justice-Depute, accoirding to the said warrand, decernis and ordanis the ordinarie daeth usuallie inflictit upone persones convict of tressone to be execute upone thame." By their return they were also to incur "the pane of daeth, and all other panes usuallie inflictit upone persones convict of tressone."—(*See Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 494–504, where the various official documents connected with the trial are given with great accuracy, and in a way yet more instructive than history.)

Row's account is as follows:—(Historie, Wod. Soc. edit. p. 238, *et seq.*) " . . . . The six ministers warded in Blacknes had been brought to Linlithgow in the moneth of October; and after long deliberation, the Earle of Dunbar, with certain Lords of the Councill, refuiseing to give the ministers any tyme to advyse with their presbyteries, that they might give his Majesty satisfaction with a good conscience, were put to an assize. . . . . This processe aganis the warded ministers was not ended till about eleven houres at night. Their wives wer in toune awaiting what should be the event of that great convention; and when it was told them that

their husbands were convicted of treason by some few more votes nor they that had assoyled them, and that they were putt by the judges in the king's will, they joyfullie, and with masculine mynds, thanked the Lord Jesus, who had given them that strength and courage to stand to their Master's cause, saying, they are even entreated as their Master was before them, judged and condemned under silence of night. . . . . A warrant was sent home to Sir John Arnot, his Majestie's thesaurer, to provyde a ship that they might be banished out of his Majestie's dominions, whilk was accordingly done in November 1606: for they were brought from Blacknes to Leith, and there the ship being ready, and many attending their embarking, they fell doun upon their knees on the shoar, and prayed two several tymes verie ferventlie, moving all the multitude about to tears in abundance, and lamentation; and after they had sung the 23d. Psalme joyfullie, taking their leave of their brethren and acquaintance, past to the ship, and rencountered with a stormy tempest, so that that night they sailed no farther but over to the other syde of the water; but then upon the morn, getting a fair wynde, were safelie transported and landed in France."

The whole proceedings regarding the Assembly of Aberdeen, and the subsequent treatment and trial of the warded ministers, are narrated in James Melville's Autobiography, Wod. Soc. edit. pp. 570–626. See also *ibid.* pp. 646–652.

The following letter, from Sir Thomas Hamilton, king's advocate, to James, at the time of the trial, may well close the references to this transaction:—

"Most Sacred Sovereign,—My conceived fear that my silence c^{d} not find any lawful excuse, if I s^{d} not advertise y^{r} Majesty of the progress and event of the criminal persuit of Mess. John Forbes, Welch, and others their complices, before y^{r} Majesty's Justice, for their treasonable declining your Majesty's and y^{r} Secret Council's judgment, makes me bold to write in that matter, which, as well in respect of a most high point, and large part of your Majesty's authority-royal, brought in question by the ignorant and

inflexible obstinacy of these defenders, as in regard of the most careful expectation of a great part of your Highness's subjects in this your kingdom, over-doubtsomly distracted during the incertain event thereof, partly by superstitious, and partly by feigned zeal for their profession's sake, being of so high and dangerous consequence, as the miscarrying thereof might have exeemed a great part of your M.'s subjects from your M.'s jurisdiction and obedience in matters of doctrine and discipline, and all things which they s^{d} have pleased to affirm to be of that nature, and therewith have given them occasion, as if it were lawful liberty, or liberty by your M.'s own laws and sentences, to have maintained that liberty once purchased, and daily to have increased the same, to the manifest peril, not only of farther impairing, but, with time, of utter subversion of your royal power within this kingdom. God having now brought it to that good end, that after langsome, difficil, and most contentious travels, they are convicted by assize of that treasonable declinator, I should omitt as necessary a point of my duty, as if I had not replied to their most probable allegeances, if I s^{d} conceal f^{m} y^{r} Majesty, that the first and greatest praise of this good success should be given to your Majesty's self: for foreseeing this matter to be of such difficulty and danger as it is, required the particular direction of your M.'s own most excellent wisdom, by the report and prosecution of my Lord Dunbar, who, I am assured, in all his life never was so sollicitous for the event of the trial of other men's lives; for at his here-coming, finding that matter not only of foreseen, but also of unexpected difficulties, his care and diligence therein has been so assiduous, wise and provident, that having made secret choice of this time and place, (which by effect has proved most proper,) and so wisely expressed to your M.'s Justice, Justice-Clerk, and other members of that court, y^{r} Majesty's care of the maintenance of y^{r} royal power, brought in question by that process, w^{t} the undoubted favour w^{h} they might expect by doing their duty, and most certain disgrace and punishment, if, in their default, any thing s^{d} miscarry; he proceeded thereafter to the preparation of sufficient forces, able to execute all the lawful com-

mandments of y^r M.'s Council, in y^r service. And, for that purpose, having brought w^t him to this town a very great number of honourable barons and gentlemen, of good rank and worth, of his kindred and friendship; finding, besyde other great impediments, the chief peril to consist in the want of an honest assize, who without respect of popular favours, threatning, or imprecations, would serve God and your M. in a good conscience, for known default of constancy and good affection in others, he was compelled to cause his own particular and private kinsmen and friends to make the most of the assize; who being admitted upon the same, if he had not dealt in that point but [without] scrupulosity or ceremony to resolve them of the wonderful doubt, wherein by many means, chiefly by the thundering imprecations of the pannel, and contentious resistance of their own associate assizers, they were casten, that whole purpose had failed, to our infinite grief and your M.'s overgreat prejudice. For the good success whereof I shall ever thank God, and ever pray him and your M. to put us to as few essays in the like causes as may possibly stand w^t the weal of your Majesty's service, in respect of the scarcity of skilled and well-affected assizers in these causes: for if my Lord of Dunbar had wanted your M.'s most provident directions, or if we had been destitute of his wise and infinitely solicitous diligence and action in this purpose, in all men's judgments it had losed; wherein our misluck c^d never have given satisfaction to your M., or contentment to our own minds, albeit our consciences and actions did bear us record that we served w^t most faithful affection and careful diligence; but now we have to thank God that it is well ended. And I must humbly crave your M.'s pardon for my boldness and over-long letter, w^h shall be always short in comparison of my long and endless prayers to God for your Majesty's health, content, and long and happy life.

"At Lithgow, the 11th January 1606.

"Your sacred Majesty's

"Most humble and faithful Servitor,

"TH. HAMILTON."

(Memorials and Letters, &c., relating to the reign of James I., edited by Lord Hailes, vol. i. pp. 1–4.)

In a note appended to this letter, Lord Hailes observes:—"This letter gives a more lively idea of those times than a hundred chronicles can do. We see here the prime-minister, in order to obtain a sentence agreeable to the king, addresses the Judges with promises and threats, packs the Jury, and then deals with them *without scruple or ceremony*. It is also evident that the king's advocate disliked the proceedings as impolitic and odious; but that he had not resolution to oppose them. The detail of this trial, and of its consequences, may be found in Spotiswood and Calderwood."

For Dr M'Crie's view of the whole proceedings regarding the six ministers, see his Life of Knox, ii. 269–272, 5th edit., and his Life of Melville, ii. 116–122, 2d edit. For Dr Cook's, see History of the Church of Scotland, ii. 168. For Dr Murray's, see Liter. Hist. of Galloway, p. 69. For M'Gavin's, see his edit. of the Scots Worthies, vol. i. p. 129, *note*.

The following extract, from a letter addressed to King James by Secretary Balmerino, "by direction of the counsell," exhibits the spirit in which these proceedings were conducted:—"To dissemble nothing," says he, "gif the Erle of Dumbar had not bene with us, and pairtlie by his dexteritie in advising quhat wes fittest to be done in every thing, and pairtlie by the authoritie he had over his friends, of quhom a great many past upon the assize, and pairtlie for that some stood in aw of his presence, knowing that he wald mak fidele relatioun to your Majestie of everie man's pairt, the turne had not framed so well as, blessit be God, it has."—(Coll. of Letters belonging to Lord Haddington, as quoted by Dr M'Crie, Life of Melville, 2d edit. ii. 120.)

A

TRUE RECORD

OF

THE LIFE AND DEATH

OF

MASTER PATRICK SIMSONE.

WRITTEN BY HIS BROTHER,

ARCHIBALD SIMSONE,

MINISTER AT DALKEITH.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following "Record" is printed, for the first time we believe, from Vol. xviii. of the Wodrow MSS. in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. We prefix a few notices of the family of the Simsons as a preface to the Life of Patrick.

The father of this distinguished family, Mr Andrew Simson, was master of a school at Perth, between the years 1550 and 1560, where he taught Latin with applause. He had sometimes upwards of three hundred boys under his charge, among whom were included the sons of some of the principal nobility and gentry of Scotland, and from his school there proceeded many of those who subsequently became distinguished in the Reformation of the Church, and the managing of the State.

An incident, on one occasion, occurred in connection with the elder Simson's school, which tends to exhibit the truth of the remark, that when a reform has become necessary, nothing can hinder it,—every thing helps it on. A friar was preaching in Perth, (1550–1558,) in the church where Simson's scholars attended. In the course of his sermon he inveighed bitterly against the Lutherans, who were, by their preaching, withdrawing the people from the Popish faith; and, amid his invectives, a loud hissing arose in that part of the church where the boys, to the number of three hundred, were seated. The affrighted friar fled from the pulpit; a complaint was made by the magistrates to the master; an inquiry was instituted, and it was found that the disturbance arose from the son of a craftsman in the town, who had a copy of Sir David Lindsay's "Monarchies," which he read at intervals to his schoolfellows. When

the boy was about to be punished for his misdemeanour, he denied that the book was heretical, as the friar alleged, asked the master to read it, and declared he would submit to chastisement were it in reality what it was supposed to be. Simson consented, perused the book, and was convinced of the truth of his pupil's statement. He made the best excuse he could for the behaviour of his scholars; and from that time Andrew Simson was friendly to the Reformation.[1]

Having thus embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, Andrew Simson the father, who had been educated at St Andrews, and matriculated in St Salvator's College in 1554 and St Leonard's in 1559, became minister of Dunning and Cargill; whence he was translated to Dunbar by order of the General Assembly in 1564, where, as the following narrative relates, he was at once minister of the parish, and master of the Grammar School. He was the author of the Latin Rudiments, which continued to be taught in Scotland till they were supplanted by Ruddiman's. The volume was originally published in Edinburgh, in the year 1586 or 1587, under the title, "Rudimenta Grammatices, in gratiam Juventutis Scotiæ conscripta."

It is not ascertained at what time Andrew Simson died; but on the 18th September 1582, "Mr Alexander Home, minister, was presented to the parsonage of Dunbar, vacand by the dimission of Mr Andrew Simson."—(See Row's Historie, p. 8, *note*.)

Other members of the family of Simson were conspicuous in various departments. The following narrative exhibits the character and doings of Patrick, the son of Andrew. William, another son, and minister of Dunbarton, published a work in Latin, "De Accentibus Hebraicis," concerning which Dr M'Crie has said:—"He undertook to explain one of the abstrusest parts of Hebrew philology in the first work on Hebrew Literature which appeared in Scotland." Alexander Simson, another son, and minister of God's Word at Merton in Scotland, published a work in 1644, entitled, "The destruction of inbred corruption, or the Christian's warfare against the bosome enemy."—Some

[1] See Row's Historie, pp. 7–9; M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. pp. 377, 378; Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iii. p. 115.

account of him is given in Livingston's Characteristics, chap. i. § 14. Another, of the sons, named Abraham, was minister of Norham, as Archibald, the author of the following Life, was at Dalkeith. Besides this memoir of his brother, he wrote "*Of the Creation—Christ's Seven Words on the Crosse—Samson's Locks of Hair—The Seven Penitentiall Psalmes—Hieroglyphia Animalium Terrestrium, &c.*, with a *Chronicle of Scotland* in Latine, not yet printed." The title of the last mentioned work is as follows:—"Annales Ecclesiasticæ Scotorum, a tempore Reformationis ad obitum Jacobi Regis VI. Authore Arch. Simsono, Pastore Dalkethensi."—(See M'Crie's Life of Melville, 2d edit. vol. ii. pp. 424, 425. For notices of other branches of this family, consult Wod. Correspond. vol. i. pp. 14, 15.) Archibald displayed the boldness and more than shared the trials of his brother. He vigorously opposed the innovations which the Bishops were introducing; and "the king caused putt him and his accomplices in ward,—Mr Peter Hewat in Dundie, Mr Archibald Simson in Aberdeen, and Mr David Calderwood was instantly taken by the Lord Scoone and putt in the Tolbuith of St Androes."—(See Row's Hist. pp. 310, 312, where the proceedings are described.)

We would only farther add, that Row, in his "Coronis," has given an abstract of Patrick Simson's Life. In some places it is *verbatim* the same as the Life now published; in others it is more detailed and specific; but in general it is rather a compend than a life. It may be seen in Row's Hist. Wod. Soc. edit. pp. 422–437.

DEDICATION.

TO THE

RIGHT NOBLE LADIES,

THE COUNTESS OF MARR AND MY LADY ERSKINE,

GRACE FROM GOD THE FATHER, AND
EVERLASTING FELICITY.

SEEING my brother, Mr Patrick Simsone, was that happy instrument of God to begett your Ladyships as a spiritual father in Christ Jesus, and ye are both the seals of his ministry, and the crown of his rejoycing as ye confesse, and seeing he has dedicated all his labours to your Ladyships, as he spent his travells in that holy ministry among you for your everlasting salvation, I think this short history and compend of his life and death most properly doth appertain to your Ladyships' honours, that ye may learn by the death of the righteous man of God to die well, as by his life ye learn to live well.

I am witness, as many other honourable Christians, of every word that is here written, neither have I added or diminished one syllable to my knowledge. I pray your Ladyships, take this monument in good part, although it discontent the corrupt humors of this age, and learn of your spirituall father to be honest and

constant unto the end, and to keep the faith of Christ without wavering. And I myself have written this letter in great debility and weakness of body, every hour attending upon my dissolution, and occupied with that same sickness wherein he departed the last of March, alwayes continuing his affection to my latter breath, praying the eternall God to pour upon you both honour, grace, constancy, sincerity in your religion, and with your honourable house for ever. Your Ladyships' servant,

(*Sic subscribitur*) A. SYMSONE.

At Dalkeith, March 1, 1619.

A

TRUE RECORD OF THE LIFE AND DEATH

OF

MASTER PATRICK SIMSONE.

MR PATRICK SIMSONE, minister of the Gospell the space of fourty yeares, was born in Perth the year of our Lord 1556. His father was Mr Andrew Simsone, then schoolmaster in Perth,[1] in the dayes of the Queen Regent. When the troubles were betwixt her and the Lords of the Congregation, he was born. His mother's name was Violet Adamson. He had four brethren: the eldest, Mr Matthew, took him to the profession of humanity, the other four were preachers, and the sisters all married on preachers of God's word. His father instructed him in grammar, and being fourteen years of age, [he] was ready for the colledge, and was instructed in the New Colledge of St Andrews, under the hand of Mr David Byzle,[2] his regent and master. He passed his course, being eighteen years, whilk was a rarity in those dayes, where [the] ignorance of Popery had so far prevailled that it was a rare thing to any to read Latine scarce upon their masse book.

His father, by the advice of nobility and kirkmen, who then began the [reformation of] religion in this land, was transported to Dumbar,

[1] See Note, p. 65.

[2] This appears to be the name in the MS.

where he might have commodity not only to instruct the youth, but to teach God's word to the people, whilk both he did with God's blessing.[1] His father perceiving that the youth inclyned his heart to learning, sent Patrick to England, minding to make greater progress, unto Cambridge University; but he was detained by a gentleman in Bridgstock, and agreed to byde there, having the commodity and liberty of a Bibliotheck, who by his own private studies attained to a great perfection of the Greek language, wherein he did greatly delight, [in] Plato, Xenophon, Thucidides, Homer, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Josephus. These he had read perfytely, and the Ecclesiastick Histories. Being asked wherefore he did apply his mind to Ethnick writers, wherein he would spend idle time? [he] answered, he got the benefit of the language by them,—not only the pure Greek, but the Ionick, Dorick, Attick, whereby he may understand all; and as the Israelites borrowed jewells of Egypt, whilk they dedicated to the tabernacle, so whatsomever golden or precious sentences he read among those he consecrated them to the worship of God; and as pearls must not be contemned suppose they be gathered from the dunghill, so good sentences may be collected from the mouthes of Ethnic philosophers, orators, and poets, and not contemned in respect of the authors.

His father took sickness in Dumbar, who called him back from England, who obediently followed his father's voyce. When his father convalesced, the ministers of the exercise entered him to the ministry of Spotkirk, where he served three years, being so near Dumbar, where all the week he taught the Græcian language, and spread it in West Louthian, as Mr Andrew Melvill and Mr Blaise Lawrie did in the West of Glasgow. After, it was thought good by the Kirk he should be transported to Cramond, whilk was in

[1] "Mr Brand of Borrowstoness tells me there is a pretty remarkable passage as to old Mr Simson, the father of him in Stirling, in his son's Commentary on the Penitentiall Psalms, about some fishers in Dumbar, and a remarkable judgment he predicted coming on them for breach of the Sabbath, which was very sensibly and suddainly accomplished."—(Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iv. p. 17.)

the presbytrie of Edinburgh, and there he served the space of twelve yeares, to the singular lykeing both of the preachers, (Mr James Lawson, namely,) and the whole people. He married there Martha Barron, daughter to James Barron, Provost of Edinburgh. The year of our Lord 1584, he was put to tryall what obedience he would give to the Bishop of St Andrews, his uncle,[1] for they were, by open proclamation, appointed to acknowledge him their ordinary, and subscrybe, or else to loss their stipend. Some subscribed without any condition roundly, and made no moats of it: others, somewhat more strict, would add the condition, *according to God's word.* But he would not subscribe by any condition: for he says it was a repugnance *in adjecto* to subscribe to any institution according to God's word whilk God's word doth not approve, but condemne. He used the example of Eleazer the priest, who would not eat lamb's flesh under slander, lest they should have supposed he had eaten swyne's flesh: he lossed a stipend thereby. But seeing God purposed to put his talent to greater profite and advantage to himself, he raised up against him two gentlemen, the Laird of Craigiehall,[2] who afterward was Chancellour on the Assize of the ministers who were condemned at Lithgow, and the Laird of Kilspindie, and both for the little moyen of his stipend and kirkland, although God turned their covetousness for the best to him.

The year of our Lord 1588,[3] the Lords returned at Stirling, and being restored, the kirk received her liberties of presbytries, sessions, [synods?] and assemblies; and the bishops being shot away, the kirk assembled in Edinburgh appointed that the principall places of the kingdom should be filled up with such men as had principall graces given by God, whilk places were furnished by the bishops by ignorants and insufficient persons, as Edinburgh was furnished by ane Mr James Hamilton, *alias* Moses, where he teached of the bush, and could never winn out of it, but went about the

[1] Patrick Adamson.

[2] Or Craighall.

[3] The date 1590, which, according to Row, is the correct one, is written over this, apparently in another hand.

bush. And they, with common consent, ordained Mr Patrick Simsone, with all possible diligence, should remove to Stirling, a principall place where his Majesty made repare and residence. He governed that kirk twenty-seven years, with a great blessing of God; for it being a principal place of the kingdom, the chief learned schollars repared hither, and with one consent acknowledged that his gift was excellent, and glorified God for him.[1]

The first Saturnday he came to Stirling he fell over Ather Brussis stair. He applyed himself to his book continually, and was weell versed in reading of the Fathers, both Greek and Latine, as his books will bear witness, whilk are all noted by his marginall observationes.

God gave two great sealls of his ministrie by his labours—the conversion of that noble lady, my Lady Marr, to the truth of God, and that true and late conversion of my Lady Erskine, who in her letters honours him with the name of her spiritual father, who, though they had an hundred pedagogues, yet they have but one father, for in Christ he begat them, as they acknowledge both. I cannot tell if the thirteen bishops, for all the authority of the High Commission, hes wrought such miraculous and mercifull works as to convert souls to the truth of God.

He dealt with my Lady Linlithgow, who was obstinate, and affirmed that the Pope might not err in matters of faith, as Caiaphas prophesied, being high priest that year. He said, did not Caiaphas err in the chief head of faith, when he rent his cloathes, and called it blasphemy that he was the Son of God? She replyed, Let the Doctors of Sorbon answer that question. He was the sweet savour of God to them that are saved in paroches; his

[1] "At the 54th Assembly, conveened at Edinburgh, August 4, 1590. . . . . Mr Patrik Simson was transported fra Cramund to Stirlin."—(Row's Hist. p. 139.) "At the 55th Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, Julie 2, 1591. . . . . My Lord Haliroodhouse, a Lord of Session, had called Mr Patrick Simson a suborner. The Assemblie had charged my Lord Haliroodhouse before them to purge out the slander—my Lord Blantyre and Culrosse, Lords of Session, appear in name of the College of Justice, protesting aganis the Assemblie as medling with that whilk was civill; but the Assemblie judged the purging out of a slander to be a cause ecclesiastick."—(Row's Hist. p. 142.)

power also to convince the adversaries of the truth, the Papists, may be seen by his conferrence with the Earle of Huntly in the Castle of Stirling, whereby he obtained [maintained?] the great poynts of Justification subscribed with his hand the third of Aprile . . . . . as are extant; and by his Centuries,[1] whilk since, not-

[1] The title of this work, of which the third edition, a folio volume, *is* before us, is as follows:—"The Historie of the Church, since the dayes of our Saviour Jesus Christ untill this present age. Divided into foure bookes. 1. The first containeth the whole proceedings and practises of the Emperours, both of the West and East, for or against the Church; as also the wonderfull love of God towards it, by whom it was so preserved, that neither by tyrannie it could bee subdued, nor by policie circumvented. 2. The second containeth a briefe catalogue of the beginnings and proceedings of all the Bishops, Popes, Patriarches, Doctors, Pastors, and other learned men, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, with or against the Church, together with their deaths. 3. The third containeth a short summe of all the Heretiques which have beene in the Church, the time when, and the place where they lived; as also the persons by whom they were subdued. 4. The fourth containeth a short compend of all the Councels Generall, Nationall, and Provinciall, together with their severall canons which have beene established either with or against the Church. Divided into 16 centuries. By all which is clearely shewed and proved the antiquitie, visibilitie, and perpetuitie, of our Church, ever since Christ's dayes. Collected out of sundry authors, both ancient and moderne, by the famous and worthy preacher of God's Word, Master Patrick Symson, late minister at Striveling in Scotland. The third edition, corrected and inlarged. London: Printed by John Dawson, for John Bellamie, &c., 1634." One edition was dedicated by the author "To the Right Noble, and Vertuous, and Elect Ladie, Marie, Countesse of Marre." Another, by the author's brother, "To the Most Noble and Illustrious James, Duke of Lenox, Earl of March, &c. &c. &c." The latter dedication begins thus:—"The former edition of these Centuries being, upon the recommendation of the Most Noble and Virtuous Ladie, the Countess of Marre, presented unto your renowned uncle, of most worthie memorie," &c. &c.

"The Author's Epistle to the Reader" is subjoined, as exhibiting the quaintness of Patrick Simson's style. The extent of his learning and research, as displayed in the volume, is great, or even wonderful, when we keep in view the activity of the times in which he lived, when action rather than study was required in ministers of the Gospel.

"THE AUTHOR'S EPISTLE TO THE READER.

"It was admired of old that Aphraates, who lived in the cottages of the wildernesse all his time, yet once was found in the streetes of Antiochia, in the dayes of the Emperour Valens. He excused the change of his former behaviour by the similitude of a modest virgin, lurking quietly in the secret corners of her father's house, so long as it is in safety; but if it bee set on fire, it is a hurtfull

withstanding of his great weakness, he hes perfyted since eleven hundreth yeares after our Lord's birth, as his records will testifie.

modesty to lurke any longer, necessity forceth her to runne abroad that she may give warning of the imminent danger. This example of Aphraates might sufficiently excuse mine unaccustomed boldnesse to set forth my head, which hath bin lapped up so long in hurtfull silence. For now the power of darknesse increaseth; and, (as the prophet saith,) 'Woe unto us! for the day declineth, and the shadowes of the evening are stretched out,' (Jer. vi. 4;) 'yea the shadow of Mount Athos reacheth to the Isle Lemnos, a sure forerunning token of the going downe of the sunne.' And, therefore, now it is time to creepe out of our subterraneall caves, that we may give notice to quench the fire in time, before it spread further, and bring greater desolation to the house of our God. Papists are become insolent of late dayes, (like unto serpents in summer weather, taking courage, and biting the heeles of horses that the riders may fall,) not sparing, both in word and writ, to reproch our religion as not countenanced by antiquity; and our ministerie as altogether naked and voyd of the knowledge of ancient learning. Shall we now stand still (as idle men in the market-places) one looking upon another? I had rather (then we should sustaine such apparent damage and hurt, through untimely silence) step forth with the Lacedemonian souldier impotent of his legs, and neither apt to fight nor able to flie; having this comfort, (as he had,) that happily I may blunt the edge of the enemie's sword, and make others ashamed who are more fit for fighting then I am. And although those who have undertaken to write compends have found therein great difficulty, being so invironed with straits, that they finde it very hard either to satisfie themselves or others, (for if the compends bee short, they seem obscure; if written at large, they seeme to have neede of other compends to abridge their prolixitie;) yet, notwithstanding all these difficulties, it is better to set forward by doing some good, either to ourselves or others, then to spend our time in idlenes, lest our cogitations (like unto the upper and lower millstones, which lacking good graine to grinde upon, rub upon one another untill both be broken) not being well exercised, but, spent upon vaine things, become hurtfull both to our soules and bodies.

"Take in good part the goats' haire and the rams' skins which I present to cover the tabernacle of our God. I referre the ornaments of gold, silver, and precious stones, for beautifying the inner parts of the tabernacle, to others, upon whom God hath vouchsafed greater gifts. The house of God is large and ample; and as it hath neede of bright-shining torches for the halls, parlours, and chambers; so it hath need of smaller lights for cellars and office-houses. If my farthing candle give light in the lowest cellar of the house of God, my heart is fully content. Farewell.

"Thine in the Lord,

"P. SYMSON."

Besides the work now referred to, Simson was author of the following, forming a 4to volume:—"A Short Compend of the Historie of the First Ten

He was wonderfully comfortable to his people, whom he never left in the time of the plague, with continuall hazard of his life; but the Lord pitched his angels about him, and preserved his family. He fand Stirling rent and divided by the fearful discord of the merchands and craftsmen, whilk by the grace of God he appeased before his death, and left them at peace (whilk, God willing, will not be violated in our dayes) whilk neither the laws could agree,[1] nor Bishop Gladstones with his High Commission. God made that blessed appointment to be made by his mediation, for he carried himself so indifferently as a father could doe among his children, that, in the midst of their fighting, he cast himself out naked among them, going betwixt them, and frayed the plea.[2]

Persecutions, moved against Christians. Divided into III. centuries. Whereunto are added, in the end of every centurie, treatises arising upon occasion offered in the historie, clearly declaring the noveltie of Popish religion, and that it never flowed from the mouthes of Christ's holy apostles; neither was it confirmed by the blood of the holy martyrs who died in these ten persecutions. Jerem. vi. ver. 16; Luc. x. ver. 42. Edinburgh: Printed by Andro Hart, &c. A.D. 1613, 1615, and 1616." In many respects this work is the same as the other already mentioned. *The Dedication* in the folio volume is, to some extent, the *Preface* in the 4to. "The Epistle to the Reader" in each is substantially the same, while the "Epistle Dedicatorie," in the 4to volume, "To the Most Noble, Vertuous, and Elect Ladie, Marie, Countesse of Mar, wishing grace, mercie, and eternal felicitie," is in part different from the epistle in the folio volume, but contains many paragraphs and sentences that are the same. It is rather an interesting study to notice how Simson again and again employs a favourite passage in these epistles and prefaces. Like an artist with numerous sketches in his portfolio, which he introduces as taste or effect demands into his various productions, does our author again and again employ his illustrations and ideas, as if conscious of their striking effect. The result of the study of his works would be to impress the mind of the student with a high sense of Simson's attainments as a scholar, his vigour as a writer, and his godliness as a Christian. No doubt, as an annalist, we must rank him with Eutropius, rather than with Tacitus; but the treatises connected with his historical writings are obviously the productions of a mind characterized by much sagacity, acuteness, and force.

[1] Cause to agree.

[2] He was often consulted by his brethren in difficulties; *e. g.* in 1598, when disputes ran high between King James and the ministers, regarding Mr Robert Bruce, whom James hated and persecuted. Bruce applied to Simson for counsel. His reply may be seen in Bruce's Life and Sermons, Wod. Soc. edit. pp. 73, 74.

His liberty in rebukeing vice is manifest by his reproveing of the slaughter of David Foster by Patrick Bruce.

And as he had a faught against Papists,[1] so had he a continual grief anent the change of Church government, whilk he saw to be inforced upon the Kirk of Scotland, against the whilk he to his latter breath opponed himself with such wisdom and zeall, that none could justly take exception at any of his proceedings thereanent, in witnes whereof, in all the assemblies preceeding his Majestie's going to England, [he] expressly declared his minde that he disallowed this new imposed government, as that whilk was not agreeable to the word of God, and whilk would bring wrack and dissolution upon this so weell a reformed kirk, and that there was never a kirk, from the apostles' dayes to this hour, so weell reformed, according to the apostolick and primitive institution, as was the Kirk of Scotland, whilk he proved at all their meetings without any contradiction.

He was tried by diverse great courteours, haveing gried with

[1] A convention of ministers was held at Edinburgh, 15-20 November 1592, in consequence of the dangers to which religion was at that time exposed. "Papists, Jesuits, and resetters of them," were busily at work, and the Church set herself with zeal to counteract their machinations. Ministers were appointed throughout the country to correspond with each other, and adopt measures to promote the pure religion and check the false. Among others, we find Mr Patrick Simson thus employed.—(J. Melvill's Diary, Wod. Soc. edit. p. 302.) In 1594 we find Patrick Simson's name among those who carried to the king a memorial regarding "The dangers whereinto the Kirk standeth throw the impunitie of Papists and excommunicats," &c. &c. The covenant was renewed in the Synod of Fife on the 12th of May 1596. Among the parties who took a share in that work we again find Patrick Simson; and James Melvill (Diary, p. 358, Wod. Soc. edit.) thus describes him:—"Mr Patrik Simsone, minister of Sterling, being present with the said Mr Johne [Davidson,] and joynit with him in commissioun from the Generall Assemblie, requyrit be the Moderator, spak verie halelie and weill anent a poinct of Reformatioun, viz., of the mouthes of the ministers quhilk sould be the Oracle of God, whase lippes sould keipe knawlage, and at whase mouthes the Law of the Lord sould be sought as the messingers of the Lord of Hostes, as sayes the prophet. And yit to be sa comounlie and openlie defylit and abusit with foolishe, vean gesting, and unsavorie speitches and talk, evin at tables in open audience, schowing an unclein and unsanctifeit hart, cearles of the honour of God, and ædificatioun of his peiple."

my Lord Dumbar, the first builder of bishops. Since they saw he could not be moved to accept a bishoprick himself, and they desperate of his conversion,[1] they prayed him that he would be a good instrument to keep peace in the kirk, and to use connivance at the estate of bishops; and seeing he had many children, and evill provyded, there should be given him a pension yearly off his Majestie indureing his lifetime, and that he would move his Majestie to take the protection of his children and provide them weell. He answered, "Lord preserve his Majestie, I have enough of his Majestie already;—I have his Majestie's favour." I will say no farther at this tyme what warrands I have by word and write for confirmation of this. But he was a faithfull secretar, who could obscure any thing that either might bring himself ostentation, or any other person harme or the smallest offence. So loving, peaceable, charitable, and secret he was, he said if he thought he should reveall any secret he would wish his tongue cutted out.

What his part was at the arraignment of the ministers at Linlithgow is publickly known. With Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr James Melvill, and the rest of the brethren from all quarters of the kingdom who were spectators of that dreadfull tragedie, he publickly avowed injury to have been done to innocent persones, threatned judgments upon the assysers and convicters, and commended the advocat, whose mouth God used for the tyme for their maintainance, (whereof I think he needs not to repent,) and plainly justified that Assembly at Aberdeen to be most lawfull, whereof his testimonies are extant in write and print.[2]

[1] In reference to the ministers who fell away from Presbytery to Episcopacy in King James's time, Row, in his "Coronis," has the following sentences:—"I grant we may all speak as good Mr Patrik Simson spak to a gentill woman, who said unto him, 'Sir, what shall we say when news comes hereafter that Mr Patrik Simson is become a bishop?' He paused a little, and then answered, 'Ladie, I am als weak and sinfull a man, and als much given to the world, as any other, and dare not say but that I may be als easilie drawn away to any evill course; but, when that comes, say that I confessed I had fallen fra Christ and from his trueth in that poynt.'"—(Row's Hist. &c. p. 440.)

[2] Patrick Simson was chosen moderator of the conference held at Falkland in June 1608, between the bishops and ministers, with consent of the King. Of

He was free of the Assembly at Glasgow that was thought to be angelick for the angels, that the Lord Dumbar bestowed upon many for their viaticum, I will not say their votes, alwayes he neither gave a vote nor receaved the wages, for he was not sent, for that he was no man of composition. When they had ended their Assembly at Glasgow, the Earl of Dumbar, with the Bishop of Glasgow, Spotswood, now Bishop of St Andrews, comes to Stirling to the Earl of Huntly, thinking to convert him by authority, but that spirit was not to be casten forth by the sones of Sceva; Christ he knew, but what they were he knew not. Mr Patrick preached his ordinar, preaching upon the twenty-eighth of Matthew, that they hyred the souldiers to say that Christ was stolen away by the disciples by night, whilk he protested he knew not then that there was any gold delivered to any at that Assembly at Glasgow. But he says that they were πρασιμοι, sellable, as men who sett a pryce upon a house to be sold for money, the hall, the chambers, &c. So there was a pryce sett upon men to sell Christ's cause, as Judas got thirty pennies, whilk never did him good. This was exponed of Glasgow. My Lord Dumbar pulled down his hatt in tyme of sermon; alwayes he kythed an honest man in that errand who damned all αισχροκερδιαν—filthy lucre.[1]

There succeeded after ane Assembly at Linlithgow, where being

his conduct there, J. Melvill thus writes:—"Thais [certain propositions agreed on by the ministers] being hollily, weightily, and gravelie propounit be the said moderator, in name of the hail, to the bischoppes and commissiouneres, they seimit to lyk weill of thame, as most reassonabill; but said," &c.—(Continuation of Diary, p. 747.) See also there, the "Articles Agriet upoun be the Breitherin conveinit at Falkland the 15th of June 1608, and, be the way of advyce, recommendit to all the Presbyteries within the kingdome."—(Regarding a second conference at Falkland in 1609, where Simson could not be present, owing to sickness and debility, see Melvill, *ubi supra*, pp. 770, 771.)

[1] Regarding this Assembly, (held in May 1610,) Melvill has the following remarks:—"As the nobility, bischopis, and ministeris, returnit from this Assemblie, in a great and solemn audience at Stirling, Mr Patrick Simpsone layit their perjurie and defectioun so clearlie and fairlie to thair conscience in his sermone, that the bischopis wist not quhat to doe, quhither to accuse or comport; their patience prevailit."—(Continuation, &c. p. 802. Compare Row's Hist. Wod. Soc. edit. p. 282.)

earnestly desyred, Mr Patrick was present; and he being very weak of body, yet, for the peace of the Kirk, came upon diverse letters, whilk are extant, of all sort of persones, where the Bishops submitted their benefices to the feet of the General Assembly, acknowledgeing them to be temporall, desyred to provide others in their roome, and would [promised to] observe all the caveats of the Generall Assembly: they sat on the second furme, and gave place to elder and wiser breithern; but, lowns! they never thought a word thereof,—*Intraverunt ut Vulpes, regnant ut Leones, morientur ut Canes.* They entered like tods and false foxes, they reign like liones, and will die like dogs.

After the bishops did homage to the Assembly,[1] and subjected their offices and places, and the tryall of their tryalls, [tyttles?] then his Majestie's letter wes read, wherein the ministers were commanded to give up the names of the whole Papists of the land, that his Majesty may take order with them. And to say the verity, their drift was a politick course against the Secretar, Sir James Elphinstoun, for some causes of theirs and his Majesty's just interest, as he declared by his deposition; yet the Papists wan dryshod, and gained more by their warding then poor ministers by their banishment. Mr Patrick hearing thereof, and somewhat credulous, perceived not so weell that, to establish Bishops, they were straiking cream in our mouthes to persew Papists. He

[1] In 1608, an Assembly which should have been held at Holyroodhouse was held at Linlithgow. The struggle was then keen between the bishops and the ministers, and, as often happens, the strength of parties was tried at the election of a moderator. Patrick Simson was proposed, along with four others, including James Law, "callit Bischop of Orknay. The greittest number of ministeris voited for Mr Patrick Simpsoun, a number for Mr John Hall and Mr Patrik Scharpe, feiring Mr P. Simpsoune's health, (quho, indeed, hes bein deadlie disseasit, and miraculously restorit to health by God.")—(Melvill, *ubi supra*, 754.) At the same Assembly, some well-meant attempts to heal the prevailing divisions were made, and Simson was one of the peacemakers on the part of the ministers. In 1610 we find him again among the commissioners, named by the Assembly, to confer with the Marquis of Huntly, then a prisoner at Stirling, regarding the Heads and Articles of Religion, upon which Huntly then alleged that he was "fully resolved in all doubts and difficulties."—(See Calderwood, and Melvill's Diary, p. 797.)

made an unison [?] of peace amongst the preachers, and he spake nothing but it might be [reckoned?] weell said; for of his peaceable inclination he was ever bent to quietness in the Kirk, and this he repented not at this day, albeit his sweet purpose was abused by the bishops, and misinterpreted by some good preachers. Tyme tryed that neither the Papists were keeped under, nor the bishops were brought in ordour; but he saw the fair shows of restraining them both were superfluous, and the gentle rendering of any thing was but a mean to establish them both, who are but members of one body, and are establishing ane and the self-same kingdome of Antichrist.

The Parliament after was held at Perth, whilk first was proclaimed at Edinburgh; but fearing some contradiction there where the Lord had established his throne with the greater power and glory, they ordained [it] to be in Perth, where there was conveened a great part of the nobility; for there was thirtein abbacies erected in temporall livings. The bishops first rode in Parliament, [and] the Lords in red gowns, whilk was prophesied to be the red Parliament; at whilk tyme two of the honest ministers of Scotland being present, made a protestation, wryten be Mr Patrick Simson's hand, and dyted by him, and subscryved by many ministers, whilk protestation Mr Patrick delivered unto my Lord Dumbar's hand, whereby it is cleared to that day, what uprightness was in him, and how he never turned to the right nor left hand from the covenant of God.

The tenor whereof I am forced to insert in this treatise of his life and death for to obviat the calumnies neither of Papists nor bishops, who alwayes despaired of his turning to them, but some idle and brain-sick persones and suspicious heads—God forgive them!—who make every light report a ground of calumny, and who, I protest before God, troubled him more with their suspicions then other ten did with their malice.

A PROTESTATION OFFERED TO THE PARLIAMENT AT PERTH, THE 1ST OF JULY 1606.[1]

"The earnest desyres of our heart is to be faithfull, and in caice we could [have] been both silent and faithfull at this time, when the undermyned state of Christ's Kirk craves a duty at our hands, we should have locked up our hearts with patience, and our mouths with taciturnity, rather then to have impeached any with our admonition. But that whilk Christ commanded, necessity urgeth, and duty wringeth out of us to be faithfull office-bearers of the Kirk of God, no man can justly blame us to doe it, provyding we hold ourselves within the bounds of that Christian moderation whilk followeth God without injury done to any man, especially these whilk God hes lapped up within the skirts of his own honourable styles—calling them gods upon earth.

"Now, therefore, my Lords, conveened in this present parliament under the high and most excellent majestie of our dread Soveraigne, to your honours is our exhortation that ye would endeavour with all singleness of heart, love, and zeal, to advance the building of the house of God, reserving alwayes unto the Lord's hands that glory whilk he will not communicat either with man or angells, to witt, to prescryve from his holy mountain a lively pattern, according to whilk his own tabernacle should be formed, remembring allwayes that there is non absolute and unbounded authoritie in this world except the soveraigne authoritie of Christ the King, to whom it belongeth als properly to rule the kirk according to the good pleasure of his own will, as it belongeth to him to save his kirk by the merit of his own sufferings. All other authorities is so intrenched within the marches of divine commandment, that the least overpassing of the bounds sett be God himself bringeth men under the fearful expectation of temporal and eternal judgements.

[1] This document is given also in Row's *Coronis*. On collation, there appear various verbal discrepancies, but few affecting the sense.

"For this cause, my Lords, let the authority of your meeting[1] be like the ocean sea, whilk, as it is greatest of all other waters, so it containeth itself better within the coasts and limits appointed be God then any rivers of fresh running waters have done.

"Next, remember that God hath set you to be nursing fathers of his kirk, craveing at your hands that ye should maintain and advance by your authority that kirk whilk the Lord hes fashioned by the uncounterfeited work of his own creation—as the prophet speaks, "He hes made us, and not we ourselves," (Psalm c. 3,)—but not that ye should presume to fashion and shape a new portraitor of a kirk and a new forme of divine service whilk God in his word hes not before allowed, because that were to extend your authority farther then the calling ye have of God does permit. As namely, if ye should (as God forbid!) authorize the authority of bishops and their preheminence above their brethren, ye should bring unto the kirk of God the ordinance of man, and that thing whilk the experience of preceeding ages hes testified to have been the ground of great idleness, palpable ignorance, unsufferable pride, pitieless tyranny, and shameless ambition in the kirk of God; and, finaly, to have been the ground of that antichristian hierarchy, whilk mounted upon the steps of preheminence of bishops untill that man of sin came forth, as the ripe fruits of man's wisdom, whom God shall consume with the brightness of his comeing, and the breath of his mouth. Let the sword of God pierce that belly whilk hes brought forth such a monster, and let the staff of God crush that egge whilk hath hatched such a cockatrice; and let not only that Roman antichrist be thrown down from the hie bench of his usurped authority, but also let all the steps whereby he mounted up unto that unlawful preheminence be cut down and utterly abolished in this land.

"Above all things, my Lords, beware to stryve against God with an open and displayed banner by building up again the walls of Jericho, whilk the Lord hath not only casten down, but also laid

[1] "In this present parliament."—(Coronis.)

them under an horrible interdiction and execration, so that the building of them again most needs stand to greater charges to the builders then the re-edifying of Jericho [by] Hiel the Bethelite in the dayes of Ahab, for he had nothing but the interdiction of Joshua, and the curse pronounced by him, to stay him from building Jericho; but the noblemen and estates of this realme have the reverence of the oath of God made by themselves, and subscryved with their own hands in the Confession of Faith, called the King's Majestie's Confession, published ofter than once or twice, and sworn by his excellent Majestie, and by his Heines' nobility, estates, and haill subjects of this realme, to hold them back from setting up the dominion of bishops, because it is of verity that they subscryved and sware the said Confession, containing not only the maintainance of the true doctrine, but also the discipline professed within this realme of Scotland.

"Consider also that this work cannot be set fordward without the great slander of the gospel, defamation of many preachers, and an evident loss and hurt of the people's soules committed to our charge. For the people are brought almost to the like case as they were in Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, about the six hundereth year of our Lord, when the people were so brangled and shaken with contrary doctrines, some denying, and others allowing, the opinion of Eutyches, that in end they lost all assured perswasion of true religion, and within short tyme thereafter did cast [the gates of] their hearts open to the devill to receave that vile and blasphemous doctrine of Mahomet. Even so the people of this land are cast in such admiration to heare the teachers of this land, who so openly damned the stately preheminence of bishops, and then within a few years after accepted that same dignity, pomp, and superiority in their own persones whilk they before had damned in others, that the people knoweth not whilk way to inclyne, and in end will become so doubtfull in matters of religion and doctrine, that their hearts will be like ane open tavern doore, patent to every guest that liketh to come in.

"We beseech your honours to ponder this in the ballance of a

godly and prudent minde, and suffer not the gospell to be slandered by the behaviour of a few number of preachers, of whom we are bold to affirm, that if they goe fordward in this defection, not only abuseing and apropriating that name of bishops to themselves, whilk is common to all the pastores of God's word, but also taking upon themselves such offices that carry the ordinare charge of governing the civill affaires of the countrey, neglecting their flocks, and seeking to subordinate their breither to their jurisdiction;—if any of them, we say, be found to step forward in this course of defection, they are more worthy to have the name of rotten members, and to be cutt off from the body of Christ, then to have superiority and dominion over their brethren within the kirk of God. The preheminence of bishops is that Dagon which shall readily[1] fall before the ark of God in this land, and no band of iron shall be able to hold him up againe.

"This is that patern of that altar brought from Damascus, but not shewed to Moses in the mountain, and therefore it shall fare with it as it did with the altar of Damascus,—it came last into the temple, and went first out. Likewise the institution of Christ was anterior to this preheminence of bishops, and shall consist and stand within the house of God when this new fashion of altar shall gang to the doore.

"Remember, my Lords, that in tyme past your authority was for Christ, and not against him. Ye followed the light of God, bot strave not against it; and, like a child in a mother's hand, ye said to Christ, "draw us after thee;" God forbid that ye should now fall away from your former reverence, borne to Christ, in presumeing to lead him whom the Father hath appointed to be leader of you, and far lesse to traile the holy ordinance of Christ, by the cords of your authority, at the heels of the ordinances of men.

"And albeit your honours have no such intention to doe anything whilk might impair the honour of Christ's kingdome, yet remember that spirituall darkness, flowing from a very small beginning, doth

[1] "Once already."—(Coronis.)

so insinuate and thrust its self in the house of God, that men can hardly discern by what secret means the light is dim; and darkness creeping in takes the upper hand, and, in end, at unawares, all is involved with a mistie cloud of horrible apostacy. And lest that any should think this our admonition out of season, in so farr as it is statuted and ordained by his Majestie, with the advyce of his Estates and Parliament, that all ministers provided to prelacies should have vote in Parliament, as likewise the General Assembly (the King's Majestie being present thereat) hes found the same lawfull and expedient, we would humbly and most earnestly beseech all in the Church to consider, *first*, that the kingdom of Christ, the office-bearers and lawes thereof, neither should nor can suffer any derogation, addition, diminution, or alteration, besides the prescript of his holy word, by any inventions or doings of men, civill or ecclesiasticall; and we are able, be the grace of God, and we offer ourselves to prove, that thir bishopricks to be erectit are against the word of God, the ancient fathers, and canons in the kirk, the modern, most learned, and godly divines, the doctrine and constitution of the Kirk of Scotland since the first reformation of religion within this same countrey, and laws of the realme ratifying the government of the kirk by the Generall and Provinciall Assemblies, Presbytries, and Sessions;[1] also against the weell and honour of the realme and quietness thereof; the established estate and weel of the kirk; the doctrine, discipline, and patrimony thereof; the weel and honour of your Lordships' most ancient estate of this realme; and, finaly, against the weel of all and every one of the good subjects in soul, body, and substance.

"*Nixt*, That the act of Parliament granting vote in Parliament to ministers, is with a special provision, that nothing thereby be derogatory or prejudiciall to the present established discipline of the kirk and jurisdictions thereof in Generall and Synodall[2] Assemblies, Presbytries, and Sessions.

[1] "Also agains the weel and honour of the king's most excellent Majestie."—(Coronis.)

[2] "Provinciall."—(Coronis.)

"*Thirdly*, and *lastly*, The Generall Assembly (the King's Majesty sitting, voteing, and consenting thereto) fearing the corruption of that office, hes circumscrybit and bounded the same with a number of cautions, all whilk, together with such other as shall be concluded upon by the Assembly, were thought expedient to be insert in the body of the act of Parliament that is to be made for confirmation of their vote in Parliament, as most necessare and substantiall parts of the same; and the said Assembly hath not agreed to give thereunto the names of bishops for fear of importing the old corruption, pomp, and tyranny of Papal bishops, but ordained them to be called Commissioners for the Kirk to vote in Parliament. And it is of verity that, according to those cautions, these men now called bishops entered to that office of commissionarie to vote in Parliament, neither since their inquyring[1] have they behaved them therein.

"And, therefore, in the name of the Lord Jesus, who shall hold that great Court of Parliament to judge both the quick and the dead at his glorious manifestation; and in the name of his Kirk in generall, so happily and well established in this realme, and whereof the said realme hes reaped the comfortable fruit of peace and unity, free from heresie, schisme, and dissention, these fourty-six yeares bypast; also, in the name of our presbytries from whilk we have our commission, and in our names, office-bearers, and pastors within the samen, for dischargeing of our necessare dutie, and disburdening of our consciences, we except and protest against the said bishopricks and bishops, and the erection, confirmation, or ratification thereof in this present Parliament, most humbly craveing that this our protestation may be admitted be your honours, and registrat among the acts and statutes of the samen in caice (as God forbid) these bishops be erected, ratified, or confirmed therein."

This protestation was subscrybed by fourty and one[2] breither, whose names follow :—

[1] Another reading has *ingoing*.

[2] "Fourty and two."—(Coronis.) The name that does not occur in this list is that of Mr Johne Row.

Mr Andrew Melvill.
Mr James Melvill.
Mr William Erskine.
Mr Colline Campbell.
Mr William Scott.
Mr James Rosse.
Mr John Gillespie.
Mr William Buchanan.
Mr John Kennedy.
Mr John Ogilvie.
Mr John Scrymgeour.
Mr John Malcolme.
Mr James Burdon.
Mr J. Blackfurd.
Mr James Strachan.
Mr James Row.
Mr William Row.
Mr Robert Mercer.
Mr Edmund Myles.
Mr John French.
Mr James Murehead.
Mr John Davidsone.
Mr John Mitchelsone.
Mr John Coldone.
Mr John Abernethie.
Mr James Davidsone.
Mr Adam Ballantyne.
Mr Patrick Simsone.
Mr John Carmichael.
Mr John Dykes.
Mr William Young.
Mr William Couper.
Mr William Keith.[1]
Mr Henry Duncan.
Mr James Mercer.
Mr Robert Colvill.
Mr William Hog.
Mr Robert Wallace.
Mr David Barclay.
Mr John Weems.
Mr William Cranstoun.

Of the which subscrybers, three, within three years thereafter, received a new illumination, and imbraced the bishoprick against the whilk they protested; to witt, Mr William Couper the bishoprick of Galloway, Mr Adam Ballantyne the bishoprick of Dumblane, and Mr John Abernethie the bishoprick of Cathnes, so constant[2] were they. How honest a part Mr Patrick keeped to the kirk when the commissioners were conveened at Falkland, 1609[3]

[1] "Reth."—(Coronis.)

[2] "Inconstant."—(Coronis.)

[3] Regarding the conference at Falkland, 1609, Row says:—"After long disputation, and many speeches, uttered first by five chosen out of ilk ten for each partie, and then by them all gathered together, except that the anti-Diotrephian ministers complained they were much weakened by the absence of Mr Patrick Simson, one of their number, he being diseased, and not present," &c. &c.—(Hist. Wod. Soc. edit. p. 261.)

years, this his letter, written to the commissioners, doth testifie:—

"RIGHT REVEREND BRETHREN IN CHRIST JESUS,—Seeing my infirmity doth not permitt me to be present at your godly meetings, I have thought expedient with my letter to supply my absence, as the custome hes been in the Church at all tymes whensoever distance of place, debility of body, or any other urgent necessity compelled his person to be absent whom duty and calling required to be present. Therefore, I will entreat you, brethren, by the mercies of Christ, to accept in good season this my short writting, and to have a good remembrance of these two things whilk the Lord Jesus, as he craved chiefly for his disciples in his last prayer, John xvii., so likewise he recommended chiefly to his disciples in his last exhortation, John xiii. xiv. xv., to witt, unity and sanctification. And likeas those of our opinion were chiefly to be exhorted to unity because the marches of God's commandement were broken through, words of fleshly contention rather rankling the wound than healing the sore of our diseased kirk: so likewise some of other opinion would be exhorted to sanctification, because that promises and subscriptions are the most infrangeible bands of humane societie, and are like the cords of the sanctuary, tying the beast that was to be sacrificed so fast to the horns of the altar that there could be no way of escapeing; and if there was any words casten forth, meaning a far off to infringe and break the caveats of the Kirk, it were not amiss to exhort these persones to sanctification, and to keep the oath and covenant of God with all fidelity and faithfullness. Let these things that are past, I pray you, be past over in love, and let no man think he is so compleatly perfected in all kind of good gifts that neither can he spot a good work through his infirmity, neither yet an evill work can in such wayes spot and defile him that he should have no need of private or publick admonition. Now, breither, seeing ye are mett together at Falkland through the permission of God, let it not grieve you to hear these few supplications in the name of Christ.

"*First*, That there be no disputation against the present established Church government within this realm, because there is no particular commission from the General Assemblies so to doe; as likewise, because it is more competent to ane other generation to enter in reckoning of these questions then to us who are not only bound by our own promises and subscriptions, bot also we have induced others be our travells to submitt themselves to this discipline as to the undoubted ordinance of God.

"*Secondly*, I exhort you again, for the mercies of Christ, that whatsoever subject ye reason upon, ye abstain from hot and contentious disputations, the event whereof hes been found at last so pernicious and hurtfull to the Kirk, even at that time when both parties seemed in sincerity to protest it was verity and not victory that they craved. So corrupted is our nature, ever stryving to have the badges of our own honours spread out even in the day when all other things should be forgott, and the standards of Christ's everlasting truth allanerly should be displayed to the world. Have good remembrance of the disputation at Montell-Gat, *anno* 1586, wherein our brethren of the French and German churches parted in wrath, and in the hour of their sundering, *dextra fraternitatis*, was refused by the Germans, and *dextra amicitiæ* was not receaved be the French kirk, and the grave exhortation of the noble Lord Frederick, the Duke of Wittemberg, could not prevaill so far as to make them part as peaceably as they mett.

"*Thirdly*, I entreat you, brethren, for the mercies of Christ, that ye have some regard to these ravenous wolves that are in expectation at one time or other to find occasion to teare us all in pieces. Remember of our gracious Soveraigne, and irritat not his Majestie, in any case, so far as in you lyes.

"*Finally*, Let not the hearts of our weak friends be discouraged by the new glowing flames of hot contention, whilk seemed somewhat to be refreshed by our meek meetings, wherein the hot fires was not fanned with sharp words. The overtures of our first meeting at Falkland,—I pray God they be throughly condescended upon. In this last meeting, let the caveats of the Church be

inviolably observed,—[that] the brethren who are absent off the countrey, or confined, may be restored to their roomes, that we may be as the body of a holy Israel to God, assembled to fight against the Amalekites, Moabites, Canaanites, and such other cursed nations whose number multiplies among us. So wishing, upon the knees of my heart, a blessing to this present meeting, commends you to God.

(*Sic subscribitur*) "P. SYMSON."

That letter, written to the commissioners, was unhonestly and uncharitablie sent to the king's Majestie to court, as they did an other privat letter written in Latine by his brother sensyne, whereby they stirred up his Majestie's wrath against him, who wrote home by his Majestie's Secretar to the Earle of Marr, calling Mr Patrick, Agat, and equalling him to Bellarmine, and, finallie, accuseing him of inconstancy; to whilk he wrote back a letter to my Lord Secretar of Scotland at Court as follows:—

MR PATRICK SYMSON TO THE SECRETAR.

"MY LORD,—After hearty salutations, there was advertisement sent to the Earle of Marr concerning his Majestie's late conceived indignation against me for a letter of mine, written to the commissioners at Falkland, whilk hes brought great heaviness in my heart, because I find his Majestie to be offended against me. At the very same time, the purpose of my heart was to stay others from offending his Majestie; yet seeing this is my lot, I will not pain the Earle of Marr to write my answer, but I have undertaken to write it myself, wishing to God I may find this favour in his Majestie's eyes, that my weakness may be pitied, my simplicitie may somewhat be respected, my inward peace be not troubled, and that I may have liberty, as God's own warriour, to lay down my tabernacle in peace, and to rest from my labours with some reasonable good likeing of my Soveraign Lord and King.[1]

[1] Simson was a thoroughly loyal subject, although, in the spirit of his age, he often addressed majesty with startling plainness: *e. g.* when "James, Earle

"As concerning the large answer to every point contained in his Majestie's letter, I suppone it is not craved for, although his Majestie likening me to Agat, and ballancing me also with Bellarmine's chaplane, it is my duty to take all this in good part, because my sins have deserved at God's hands that such a contempt should be poured upon me, and that from the mouth of my gracious Soveraigne; yet I hope in the mercy of God, before it be long, to dwell in a mansion, the door whereof shall not be patent to such railing chaiplanes as have proudly blasphemed the anointed of God, whilk I never did, praised be the Lord.

"As touching my inconstancie wherewith I am charged, if I can find it out, after diligent searching, the Lord teach me to detest it sevenfold more in myself than in any other man; for the dung even of the lame sacrifice, in the day of propitiation, was carried without the sanctuary, and a preacher should not be a reed shaken with the wind. Possibly his Majestie challenges me, that immediately after a promise of more dutifull carriage towards his Heines' obedience, then ever was found in us before, this is fallen out of my person that grieves and displeases his Majestie in this point, because I durst not change my opinion anent such [Church?] government for fear of the gnawing worm and pricking accusations of an evill conscience. The next was to carry myself so humbly and peaceably as the world might see what earnest care was in my heart to please his Majestie, only the peace of my minde not being troubled by trading in an uncouth path before I could see the footsteps of Christ leading me thereunto; [and] my opinion was not unknown to his

of Moray, was cruelly murdered by George, Earle of Huntley, a professed Papist. Some few days after the murther, Mr Patrick Simson, preaching before the king upon Gen. iv. 9, said to the king before the congregation, 'Sir, I assure you in God's name the Lord will ask at you, Where is the Earle of Moray, your brother?' The king replyed, before all the congregation, 'Mr Patrick, my chalmer doore wes never steeked upon you; ze might have told me anything ze thought in secret.' He replyed, 'Sir, the scandall is publict.' And after sermon, being sent for to the castell, went up with his Bible under his ockster, affirming that would plead for him."—(Row's Hist. Wod. Soc. edit. pp. 144, 145.)

Majestie. This one thing alanerly except, if there be found any wrong look in me, I refuse not to lie under the heavy censure of his Majestie's perpetuall indignation. I pray you, my Lord, pacifie his Majestie's wrath towards me this one tyme, and purchase at his Heighnes' hands, that my name may be struck out of the roll of those who should conferr upon such weighty affaires. It is enough that I have liberty to teach Christ's gospell, and to die in God's peace and the king's. As touching the last accusation, for requesting for restitution of my brethren, they shall be attended by patient expectation, untill it please the Lord to move his Majestie's heart to have pitie on their desolate state: thus resting from farther apology, committs your Lordship unto the blessing of God.

(*Sic subscribitur*) "PATRICK SYMSONE.

"Stirling, June 9, 1609."

He profited greatly in the Hebrew tongue by his late studies, and in Cosmography, after he was fifty yeares.

Alwayes some good brethren were offended, and the bishops took advantage thereof, that after an act of Assembly holden at Aberdeen, *anno* 1616, he gave the communion on Pasch day, as he did many tymes before without scruple; and when there was no motion thereof in the Kirk, he thought it indifferent. But especially when, by the Bishop's pretext, it was urged for tryall of Papists, then when he saw it to be a colour to advance their ceremonies, the next year he gave it the Sabbath after Pasch, whereby he declared that that indifferently may be either used or not used with a good conscience, and left to the arbitriment of the wise preacher.[1] And again, in the year of our Lord 1617, the Bishop of Galloway wrote a letter to him anent the imagies that were to be put up in the Abbay, and other toyes to be imposed. Ye shall both see the bishop's letter and his godly answer.

[1] About the time of his death, the projected innovations rapidly increased. "By the king's command, Good-Fryday, or the Passion day following upon the third day of Aprile, was keeped in many towns, as in Edinburgh and in Stirlin, good and worthie Mr Patrick Simson being now departed this life, March 31." —(Row's Hist. Wod. Soc. edit. p. 315.)

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS LOVING BROTHER, MR PATRICK SIMSONE, MINISTER AT STIRLING.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE AND LOVING BROTHER,—I receaved a letter from Thomas Ewing of Cockspow, whilk albeit it wanted a subscription, yet by the handwrite, and the style, and the purpose, I knew to be yours, concerning images. We have gotten them discharged upon a letter we wrote, subscryved by the bishops, Mr Patrick Galloway and Mr John Hall, but yet with a sharp rebuke and check of ignorance both from his Majestie and Canterbury, calling our scarring at them *scandalum acceptum, non datum.* We bear the reproof more patiently, because we have obtained that whilk we craved. What I wrote of Augustinus Junior, if I remember rightly, it was not for images, bot to the Romish toyes of caps, surplices, altars, wherewith our Church was not spotted two hundreth years afterhend. For resisting of these, and confirming also our refusall of images be most reasonable and dew knowledge, I pray you take some paines, that since we cannot have yourself, at least your information may help us. The king in his letter hes boasted us with his English doctors, who, he sayes, shall instruct us in these and other points, except we refuse instruction. God make us wise and faithfull, and keep us from their usurpation over us, whilk now is evidently perceived and hardly taken by us all. Concerning your commission, I shall doe what I can. I pray again, remember to help us out of your talent, and hast it in hither. So rests your own in the Lord Jesus,

(*Sic subscribitur*) "W. B. OF GALLOWAY."

THE ANSWER OF MR PATRICK SIMSONE TO THE BISHOP OF GALLOWAY.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE AND REVEREND BROTHER,—I receaved your last letter, wherein ye mark that I subscribed not my last letter to you. I wrote in haste, and I have committed that over-

sight thryce before, and have been admonished of it, bot one excuse helps my infirmity—γεγοντες αμνημονες.

"Your former letters spake of images, caps, surplices, and other toyes: if my answer spake of nothing but images, marvell not; because, as the Aramites fought rather against the king of Israel than his associates, so my heart was warmed with a holy indignation when I heard that images should be set up in places of holy adoration, so that I forgot the superstitious toyes of garments. And whereas the Bishop of Canterburry sayes it is *scandalum acceptum, et non datum*, it is also easily answered;—it is *datum, non acceptum*, as Epiphanius thought of the pictured images hanging in Anablatha. We have done exceeding wisely to [take] comfort with our soveraigne Lord's reproof, for we are ignorants in comparison of learned doctors in some sense; and so are the doctors of England in comparison of others who are of deeper learning than they are, even to be accompted ignorants. Albeit our soveraign Lord exprobat to ourselves our ignorance, he does it to stirr up our dullness, and to sett us to our books, and to the work of our calling. Bot as concerning English doctors, we will not take it in so good part out of their mouth. Basilius said of old, in the dayes of Damasus,—οφρυς δυτιχις, *supercilium occidentale*, became the beginning of the swelling pride in the West Kirk; and I say, albeit I be the least of all the men of worth in this land, οφρυς νοτιχις—fy upon the pride of the West and South, and all other places! If we be good Christians, or love the liberty of our countrey, bring not ourselves to a voluntary subjection to men who have no right to domineer over us.[1] If they be come to teach us as ignorants, seeing they are not to stay long here, let them leave in write their new theologie, and we shall consider upon it according to the measure of our understanding, and return an answer to our soveraign Lord; bot hasty changes are not good. As concerning caps, surplices, and *pallia oraria*, I find nothing in any antiquitie of them, scarce in the decretall epistles, attributed to the Bishop of Rome the first 300

[1] A Greek quotation here is illegible.

years; and they who betake themselves to that sandy ground declare their honesty will not stand. God support our infirmitie and weakness, and grant us a love of the sincerity of the gospell, and then the Lord in mercy will continue it to us; to whose blessed protection I heartily recommend you.

(*Sic subscribitur*) "P. SYMSONE.

"Stirling, April 1."

This his answer testifies what his mind was to the end concerning the liberties of our kirk and countrey, and of the English doctors, and his humble reverence for his Majestie. They calumniated him for changeing his text on Zuil day, being the ordinar day of his teaching; and that he was a wise man who observed those dayes willingly, and others were turbulent opiniators who refused. He was grievously offended at thir false reports, who when he came to Edinburgh declared how he was misconstructed; for even as the holy fathers choosed such places whilk the Arians cited for their heresie to confute themselves, and cutt off Goliah's head with his own sword, so he by that same apparition of the angel to the sheepherds, manifestly convinced [refuted] the observation of these festivall and superstitious dayes. All his auditors, who are very learned and of good remembrance, testifie faithfully that he by weighty arguments, and many of them, refuted the observation of them. And, first, he told them that the day of our Lord's nativity was kept close by God, as also, he hid Moses' body, lest it should be worshiped: so he did the day of his Son's birth, lest it should be superstitiously abused. Next, That it was not known, nor any mention made of such a day many ages after his ascension, for the space nearly of three ages. Thirdly, The day was controverted upon, so that some thought it was in Januar, some in February, some in Aprile, some in September, and at the last it was put to December. Fourthly, That they sophisticated the people, so that these things that should be conjoyned were disjoyned, for ilk day we should celebrate a holy remembrance of the birth and death of our Saviour, and ilk Sonday remembers us of his resur-

rection, whilk was upon a Sonday, although unknown upon what certain Sonday, and we need not limit that to a certain day, whilk should be the continuall meditation of all Christian hearts. And seeing there is one day to be most remembered whilk is most forgot, while we are busieing ourselves in erecting festivall dayes, that is, the day of our Lord's second comeing, he exhorted the people to set their eyes on that last day of his returning, where we should keep perpetuall and spirituall festivities with Christ and his saints in heaven, and that they should on earth continually worship him, and reverently remember his tender mercies without carnall and fleshly observationes, as the Apostle speaks in the fourth of the Galatians. And so craftily dealt the B. B.[1] for advancing their own proceedings, that both privatly and publickly [they] commended his wisdom, as the Bishop of St Andrews, Gladstones, filthily flattered him in his face in open pulpit; whilk commendation he refused and rejected, as Paul did the confession of the Pythonisse, who called him the servant of God. Yet by this their praiseing, as they only were advanceing themselves, so that put him in suspition with other good breither who supponed he had yielded any thing to them: bot they never gained one jot of him; neither, as said the Psalmist, took he the names of idoll gods in his mouth, neither did he so much as yield either in write or word, or giving them that stinking name of "Lords," bot called them breither, and said of the B. G. St Andrews, "Gladstones was oblidged to him if he would call him brother, (meaning the Bishop,) for he had broken a great bond of brotherhood already." And now at the meeting of the Assemblie nationall held in St Andrews 1617, he wrote his minde anent the ceremonies to Mr Wm. Scot and Mr John Carmichael, and keeped a copie written by his own hand, the tenor whereof follows:—

[1] Bishops.

THE COPIE OF MR PATRICK SIMSON'S LETTER TO MR W^M SCOT AND MR JOHN CARMICHAEL.

"RIGHT REVEREND BRETHREN IN CHRIST,—Seeing my inability permitts me not to be present at this General Assembly, I could do no less nor write to you, my dear breither, of novelties to be brought into the church service, whereby we can gather nothing except a new schisme renting the bowels of our kirk, and that before the preceeding schisme be well quenched. In like manner, our holy fathers who begat us in Christ, and left to us, as it were, in hæreditarie infeftment, a pure forme of worshipping God agreeable to his written word,—if we fall from it by accepting rites and ceremonies in the kirk not commanded by God, we doe great injury to the honest fame and reverend memoriall of our godly predecessors. But because I am not acquainted with matters to be intreated in the Assembly, I only admonish you, my dear breither, that it were expedient that all purposes of moment to be intreated in an Assembly national should be imparted to the commissioners and uther breither who come to the Assembly, likeas the commissioners who came from the uttermost parts of Lybica, of Mauritania, and of Thebadie, were very perfectly instructed in the purposes to be intreated in the four first General Councills. Albeit, breither, I have been fastened as God's prisoner this long tyme to my house and chamber, and some bishops seemed to be kind to my children, yet in the end I finde that episcopall seat in Scotland hes a similitude with the chair of Rome, whereof it was said of old, *Indignos aut invenit aut facit.* Let no man believe the toome Anatick[1] oratry of these who say that I damned the proceedings of our breither who gave in a supplication to the King's Majesty at the last Parliament holden at Edinburgh. God knows, I was so far from doing of it, that I said they were the servants of God, and I durst not judge any other man's servant. I intreated

[1] Or Asiatick.

favour to my brother, who was too hasty in subscribeing a supplication in so many reverend brethren's names, others having greater interest to doe it then he had. Something also I spake of my son, Mr Adam, to procure favour to him, bot the mercies of the wicked are cruell. Other things I referr to the sufficiencie of our beloved brother, Mr Hary Livingstoune, committing you and your travells to the protection of the Almighty.

(*Sic subscribitur*) "P. SYMSONE."

At St Andrews, the Generall Assembly conveening, sundry things being urged for conformity, private communion was also inquyred [requyred?]; and when few arguments could prevaill, the Archbishop of St Andrews publickly affirmed that Mr P. Simsone gave the communion to the Laird of Touch, or Lady Dryburgh, and bade spear at Mr Henry Livingstoune; whilk both are false lies: for as he witnessed at his death, he never gave it so to any all his life: bot that false lie purchased more votes nor all his arguments.

THE HISTORY AND NARRATION OF MR PATRICK SYMSONE'S DEATH AND HAPPY DEPARTURE.

Albeit many years before his death he was allwayes dying, yet this year of our Lord 1618 the Lord appointed his fatall hour and period of his dayes. Upon the 8th of February, a letter come to him from the Bishop of St Andrews, whilk together with the requests of the magistrates of Stirling to assist for the planting of his kirk, led him to undertake that hazardous journey in the month of February, where he came forth and returned in the extreamest weather whilk ever we saw for frost and snows, whereto his weak body was not able to resist. He contracted a most [severe] cold, and hosted continually to his death, and was not able to evacuat the same through weakness and debility of his body, so worn by diseases.

He began to kyth his sickness the first of March, and departed the last of March; and this is to be adverted that he spake in the

beginning to his wife: "Spouse, this wylie[1] March will make an end of thir things." Surely God directed his speech after a marvelous manner, as ye shall hear truely reported to the end, in presence of many honourable witnesses. The first of March he taught, and the whole people saw signes of death in his face.

That whole week he became weaker and weaker, and sickness increased till Sonday the 8 of March, [so] that his wife despareing of his health, wrote for his brother, Mr Archibald, from Dalkeith; whilk letter come on Tuesday, and he was there on Wednesday at night, where he spoke not much two dayes before to any save to Mr James Edmiston on Wedensday, who prayed him not to be offended at the slanderous speeches of those who misreported his preaching on Zuile day. He answered, "Tush, Tush; I am not so unsurely built that lies can shake me." He sayes again, "I have gotten great comfort be you, Sir: this is a doubtfull tyme, and we who are young men would learn of you whilk path we should tread." Answered, "Keep fast the truth as ye have receaved, and tread the path set down in the Holy Scriptures." Being desyred the samen day before the brother's coming, (for he heard it not with his ears, bot by the relation of many honourable and godly witnesses;) being desyred, I say, to give the whole persons[2] comfort out of his mouth, thinking his tyme should draw nearer then it did, he said, "The manifold graces of God are to be admired, the instructing grace of God, the saveing grace of God, the supporting grace of God, whilk may make us persevere to the end; the preveening grace of God begins with us, the accompanying grace of God continues with us; that whilk he began the following grace perfytes, and crowns it in you, so all is bot Grace, Grace, Grace. We have need of this last, for we have a vigilant enemy who would draw and rugg us backward." All the people fearing his hasty departure, thronged in to get his blessing, as also many children their spirituall father's benediction. One Christian Justine, spouse to Mr John Row, commissar of Dumblane, a good

[1] Wallie.—(Coronis.)

[2] Or, present.

111606

modest persone, craves him to bless her and her children, to whom he answered, "The Lord multiply all sorts of blessing upon you and your posterity; and he who upholds weak sinners maintain them from defection in thir evill dayes whilk are coming, and sustain you by his powerfull goodness to the end."

Helen Gardner, spouse to John Shearer, baillie of Stirling, his constant and old friend, and a woman fearing God, desyreth to remember the 10th day of August, whereof ye shall hear hereafter, (God willing,) and whereof she had some speciall intelligence, and no other; he answered, "It shall never slip out of my minde." On Thursday, the 12 of March, after long meditation, he follows forth in this speech, "Let the dead bury the dead;" and being asked what he meaned by that? answered, "I leave a dead ministry and a dead people: let them bury one another." His brother lying in the chamber, sayes to him in the morning, "Christ is to me in life and death advantage;" answered, "That was a sibb sentence unto me before: my father spake it dieing." That was a great memory, for so he did.

On Friday, the 13 of March, [he] began to seem somewhat to convalesce, to the great gladness and contentment of the persons who continually visited him. He said the grace before and after the little meat whilk he took, and his brother began to try his memory and judgement by some questions anent something whilk he read in Pierius, noted by him, and painted on his wall; and first he asked anent the Armenian whyte mouse he hes painted? [He] answered, "The hunters can find no means to take it; but when it is seeking its meat they fill the hole of her entry by dirt and filth, and she will rather expone herself to the hunters' hound then defile herself with filthiness. Such a mouse was Daniel and the three children, and Eliezer." He remembered it ilk night, and in the morning applyed it to his brother, Mr Archibald, and said they made the Armenian mouse of him. [Being] asked anent the hawk, he answered, "*Solus inter aves accipiter fertur recto cursu sursum.*" He spake this in Latine. "The hawk only, among all fowles, flies by a right and straight course upward. The Lord make us not to

imitate her fierceness, bot her straight course to heaven, and not walk in circular and oblique courses!" Thirdly, [being] asked anent a torch painted on the window, his wife answered in Latine, "*Aliam viam nescio*," at whilk he smyled, and was blyth she had so much Latine. Alwayes the torch is painted both the head upward and downward, yet always burning upward; so should Christians, either in prosperitie or adversitie, (sayes he,) set their heart to heaven. We had no more at that time, not willing to weary him or try him over sore. He took a piece,[1] and blessed it this way: "O Lord, fill our hearts with thy love, and our mouths with thy praises. Amen."

He asked who was to supply his place upon Sonday, as he did remember ever before the dayes of preaching, till the last Saturnday before his departing, whereby ye may see gif his ministry was near his heart [so] that he never forgot it.

On Saturnday, the 14 of March, the provost and baillies come to him, to whom he said, "Many hes sought by their ministry the world, and they have gotten it. The bishops being exalted by princes, they have trode the anointed of the Lord under their feet. I take your consciences to record that I have been seeking you to Christ, and not yours to me; and now seeing I have left my wife and bairnes among you, whom I have been serving thir 27 years, I recommend them to the protection and kindness of my Lord and Lady Marr, and to the town of Stirling. As ye would have my Master whom I have been serving to remember you, so I desyre ye care for them." They confessed it was true that he spake, and promised to relate it to my Lord and to the towne, and assured them of their willingness according to their power and above. They having departed, he besought his brother to call them to mind of it, and prayed God to bless them with good health, and continue his dayes, and free him from the malice of his enemies, and that he forget not to supply his roome in comforting his family; and said to him he had no money to leave to his wife, bot left them to the Comforter and his graces.

[1] *i. e.* Some food.

On Sonday, the 15 of March, he asked who preached. It was told him. He took a piece and blessed it in this manner: "O Lord, if thou would give us all the gifts of heaven and earth, yet they could not availl us without thy own self; therefore, bestow thyself with thy creatures, and albeit thou scailes[1] them upon us who are not able to receave them, we pray thee that thou dwell more plentifully in our inner man by thy grace, that what inlake is in nature may be supplied by thy Spirit within, that albeit this tabernacle be dissolving, we may receave a house whilk is builded with the hand of God. Amen."

On Munday, the 16 of March, betwixt nine and ten in the morning, even when the moon changed, his brother asked him what a beast Cynocephalus was. He thought he had spoken of Bucephalus, whilk he descrived to be Alexander's horse, whilk none could mount bot himself. After he told him he inquired of Cynocephalus, he said,[2] "It is true that beast at the change of the moon takes the fand falling evill, as [if] it was blind, lyes down on the back, steiring as though it were in the pangs of death; it is moved at the defect of a naturall light that is . . . . . [3] We are not moved at the defect of a supernatural light in this land." His brother asked him anent the salamandra. When he put on his cloathes, he said, "The feet of it are as cold as ice, and they would quench coals of fire whereupon they trode." Speaking of the crane, whilk keeps watch by keeping a stone in her one foot to hold her watching, he said, "Should not we watch and pray that we enter not into temptation?"

On Tuesday, the 17 of March, there was a good appearance of his delivery and health, he arose, and all seemed weell, and he

[1] Scatterest.

[2] "It is a beast that at the change of the moone taks the falling evill, and lyes on the back of it, stirring as if it were in the verie pains of death, being thus commoved at the defect of a naturall light, though not the greatest; yet are not we stupified and commoved at the defect of a supernatural light in this land, when the glorious work of the Reformation is eclipsed, and apostacie far advanced."—(Coronis, pp. 431, 432.)

[3] Illegible in MS.

talked freely to ilk one. He framed the grace before meat in thir words: "O Lord, as the rains and dews come down from the clouds, so the earth renders the vapors to the heavens againe. As thou givest us thir thy blessings, so give us thankfull memories to praise thee, through Christ our Lord." His brother asked him of a beast called Purpura. He said, "It grows in Mari Euxino; and the skilfull fishers, when they find it, stryke it on the head, and from thence she pours forth all her [blood, and it is excellent] litt;[1] bot if they strike her on another part, it is all confused, and [they] slay it and do themselves no good." He applyed this to the skilfull dealing with sinners: when we should rejoyce and bring honor to God by their conversion, our unapproven hand may loss them and tyne our travells. Being asked anent the hart, he said, "By his breath [he] soucks the serpent out of his hole: so sin by the Spirit is brought out of us." Being asked how he could remember all these things, he answered, He never spent his thoughts upon any other thing bot his calling. The Laird and Lady Orchard, who were kinde and loving to him, came to him, whom he blessed. He never spake any thing concerning matters of the world; for as he was never careful of them in his life to heap up earthly treasures, so they troubled him not at his death with the thorny cares thereof.

On Wedensday, the 18 of March, Mr John Gillespie not seeing any haisty appearance of his departure, took his leave, and asked him, in the name of the breither of Fyfe, what was his opinion anent the festivall dayes whilk were to be enjoyned to our kirk? He answered, after a little space, out of the 4 of the Galatians, and repeated the words in Greek,—"ἡμερας παρατηρεισθε, και μηνας, και καιρους, και ενιαυτους· φοβουμαι ὑμας μη χεκοπιακω εις ὑμας." Ye observe moneths, and dayes, and tymes, and yeares: I fear that ye have left Christ." He said, "μη χεκοπιακω εις ὑμας." His brother said, "Sir, the text sayes, 'Lest he has laboured in vain.'" He answered, "Is not that one [and the same] thing? for what laboured he bot to plant Christ in them; and when they have receaved Moses, have

[1] A dye.

they not rejected Christ, and so he tint his labour? and I fear they lost him so that they never fande him again; for if Christ and Moses cannot stand together, much less Christ and humane traditions."

On Thursday, the 19 of March, the Lady Keir, younger, brought her son to be blessed, to whom he said, "Thou art the son of a good father and good mother; it will be Satan's drift to pervert thee as he inveigled thy father. Ye will be greatly accomptable to God if ye walk not in their steps. The Lord bless you!" He descryved all the seas, Meditarraneum, Oceanum, Ponticum, Atticum, Ionicum, Pacificum, the Straits, Veneticum, speaking of John Cowan's shipp.

On Fryday, the 20 of March, putting on his shirt, he said, "The Lord who delivered me from all my enemies, deliver me from my spirituall enemies!" Mr Robert Bruce came to him, and he was not so weel, for then he changed to worse health. Mr Robert talked anent the conference and the trouble thereof: he said only this, "They never perverted me, [meaning the Bishops,] and I could not convert them." Being asked if he felt any unquietness in his minde, he answered, No; but, as other common Christians, he saw a reconciled Saviour. He longed to see Elizabeth Stewart, his brother's wife, who came that night, whom he kissed and loved dearly. Speaking of his weakness to her, [he] said he knew that God when he dissolved this tabernacle should build up a better; he desyred [her] to pray for him, and spake no more.

On Saturnday, the 21 of March, Mr John Rollock, John Shearer, and John Williamsone, clark, desyred him to make his testament, whilk he could not subscryve, bot caused two others do the samen. On Sonday, the 22 of March, [he] caused to read [some] chapters of John, and [in] the Epistle to the Romans, that high matter of God's predestination; then he sayes, "O the truth of God's promises! O the pryce and the power of the holy word!"

On Munday, the 23 of March, he grew very weak, and rested not that night. On the morning he would need ryse and put on his cloathes, as he did ilk day, and called for James Duncansone,

clark, and said, "All this night I have been directing him to take summonds to Linlithgow, to excommunicate them." Whether he meaned Papists, for my Lady Linlithgow was one, or the high Archbishops who came out of that colledge of Linlithgow, I cannot tell. We perceaved by this that he was raveing; bot it was an holy raveing, his mind being vexed that night with the enemies of God. And again, he said, "As Elias was fed in the wilderness, so was I all my dayes: I never touched the ark of God with my finger, let be to shake it:" then he gathered his memory, and began to spear for my Lady Erskine and her husband, and looked about him, thinking they were comeing. We never made mention of them, fearing it should breed him greater unquietness; for I testify he loved them with an exceeding great love, and rejoyced in her above any mortall persone, while we marvelled that he should [have] been so transported, and we think he tarried upon her coming. That day came great multitudes from all parts of landwart and the town to be blest of him, whose hands, albeit weak, they would have laid upon their heads,—to men, wives, bairns, rich, noble, and all other, whilk he did with great contentment, so far as he could speak: bot that was remarkable, that when Jean Brown, Robert Forrest's wife, craved a blessing to her children by the mouth of Helen Forrester—his eyes were dimmed and he saw not, his ear lasted longer—he sayes, "Let the bairnes come to me, and I will bless them:" and said, "My bairnes, I baptized you in the name of the Holy Trinitie with water: the Lord's Spirit baptize you by his secret grace! it may possibly be ye be baptized with the baptism of affliction and martyrdome, as the bairnes of Bethlehem. Lord root you in the knowledge of God, and make you constant unto the end!" His brother asked him what he meaned by They would be martyrs? he answered, "Brother, none enters in heaven bot martyres: he who hes it rooted in his heart to suffer for the truth is already a martyre for God." This night the Earle of Abercorne died.

On Thursday, the 24 of March, (in whilk day a man in the Carse and his three children were burnt quick,) at four houres at

even, his brother asked what meaned that that he had written in one of his books, the tennor whereof follows word by word:—"Remember, Remember, Remember, and never forget the 10 of August 1601, and what consolation the Lord gave thee in thy own yaird at even; and the Lord actually performed it the 11 of August in the morning, (Zech. iii. 2.) Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?" In the margine, "The angells in the heaven praised God for that mercy whilk was shown on thee, O wretched sinner, in the earth, (Psalm ciii. 20, 21.) What to doe have the ministring spirits of the Lord with things done in such a contemptible and stinking shell? O rich is the goodness of the Lord." There were many women there, and his brother speared in Latine what he meaned be that (for he was persuaded that it was some odd and speciall mercy) whilk he had left in the register of our remembrance. As it was asked in Latine, [he answered in Latine,] "*Absit mihi gloriari in aliquo nisi in Domino Deo meo.*" So humble and faithfull was he to his God, that albeit he might have gloried in that excellent vision, yet he referred the haill praise to God, and only marked it in his own book for his particular remembrance, bot minded it should never be published. If the Papists or Bishops had had such an apparition, they would have been full of it, when they fill their legends with lying visions and false miracles. But, for the satisfaction of the reader, I will faithfully report to you the truth of that aparition. His first wife, Martha Barron, an honest and godly woman, the wife of his youth, was visited with sickness long before her departure. At last she apprehended some fearful conceptions of spirituall temptations, as many hundreds of God's best children before their death have not escaped them. She opened her mouth in very fearfull speeches, not only tending to distrust of God's mercies, bot of contempt of his holy ministrie by whilk God hes made her to be saved. The servant of God, her husband, was so moved that he removed all out of the house, and left that honest woman, Helen Gardner, with her, (who before desyred him to remember the 10 of August 1601,) and he went to the yard, and locked the gate after him, barefooted and bareheaded,

as David did when he fled from Absolom, and weeped before the Lord; and before ten houres at night he come and caused open the gates, and said, "Be of good comfort, the morne before ten houres this brand will be plucked out of the fire;" whilk truely came to passe. At that samen hour, the Lord changed her speech to his glory, to the comfort of her husband, to the edification of his people, so that she glorified God marvelously; and in the moment of her departure spread forth her hands, and cryed loud, "Come, Lord Jesus," and instantly departed. This they [we] thought good to declare to you, not only that ye might see the goodness of God to him, bot his secrecie who never rejoyced in any thing bot in the Lord his God.[1]

Mr Anthony Murray, his cousine, came to him that day, whom he knew, and also blessed him. Afternoon, at three houres, his brother called him to minde of many places of Scripture, for he was long silent, albeit waking and his eyes closed. Then he abruptly falls forth in thir words, "Balaam was another man in his age then he was in his youth, and so was seen of him: he gave counsells against the people of God whom before he blessed." His brother said, "What doe ye say, Sir, of Balaam?" He answered, "He was a common thief;" to whom it was replyed, "And so are all his seed and successors." Then he took him to rest and meditation.

On Wedensday, the 25 of March, the old Laird and Lady Keirs, and the Lady Reccartoun their good-daughter, come to him, whom he hardly could discern, for his eyes were dimmed,—no marvell, for they were weel occupied;—and being desyred to speak to them, and bless them, he uttered thir words, "I thank the Lord who opened my mouth to glorify his holy name," so his hands being laid upon them by his brother, he blessed them, saying, "The Lord God blesse you for ever!" and so fell to his former soughing. After their departure he cryed, "O the incomprehen-

[1] Row, in his Coronis, gives a more detailed and specific account of this affair. See Row's Historie, &c. pp. 433-436. Consult also Fleming's Fulfilling of Scripture, 2d edit. pp. 436-440.

sible riches of the Scriptures!" At afternoon, the Laird of Randefoord come to him, and he in his greatest weakness gave him his blessing, saying, "The Lord bless him! he is a peaceable man." He spake, a little after, "O how true are the promises of God!" whilk he said some dayes before. Many honourable persones came afternoon to hear what he would say, for they thirsted for some speech of his mouth—the Lady Colvine, the Lady Barnbougill, the Lady Keir. He said to his brother, "Speak ye to them. I can speak no more."

On Thursday, the 26 of March, he arose not out of his bed for signes of death being perceived in him, and he lay soughing. He caused read Scriptures to him, and he heard very weel; in token whereof we were talking, besyde his bed, that some grieved his heart for falsly alleadgeing that he favoured the Zuile day, he turned him and said, "And are they lieing of me yet? will they not let me rest in peace?" Seeing he heard so perfytely, none durst speak. After, his wife came to him, and said, "Are ye goeing from me, my heart?" he answered, "Yes, I change for the better."[1]

On Fryday, the 27 of March, we were speaking at the bedsyde, thinking he was asleep or soughing to death, anent the closeing of the priest's ears at the mass—*Ne collisa cupiant Christi qui conterunt ossa.*

On Saturnday, the 28 of March, his ears began to faill him, and tongue also. [He] commended himself to God his grace, and bade good night to us all, and eated or drank nothing.

On Sunday, the 29 of March, he lay with open mouth after the samen manner, without any motion or fighting with his armes and feet. Thereby we saw he was drawing near his dissolution, (yet he knew his wife's voice.) We insisted[2] continually in praying for him, and in spirituall exercise.

On Munday, the 30 of March, he lay stiller, all power of nature haveing been relieved of their office by their Creator.

[1] "He was of a peaceable disposition, verie like to his brother-in-law, Mr Robert Rollock, (for their wyves were sisters,") &c.—(Coronis, Row's Hist. p. 438.)

[2] Persevered.

On Tuesday, the 31 of March, he deceased at two houres, at the full sea, most peaceably, without any appearance of paine in his face, bot ane little chivering with his lip, and closed his eyes himself—no man laid his hands on them, and [so] departed happily in the Lord.

All the tyme of his sickness he never said, "Alace!" or meaned any pain, whilk was marvellous. Never man died in greater peace of mind or body.

On Wedensday, the first of Aprile, his funerall was celebrated; and Mr Henry Livingstoun preached upon Timothie, "I have fought in the faith," &c., and there testified that he abode constant in the truth of God, and keeped his oath in every point of the discipline of the kirk to the end,[1] and was of an unrebukeable life, not seeking honours or riches as many did: and so was buried after sermon in the end of the quire, where he honourably rests.

[1] "After the last sermon that ever he made, a brother of the ministrie asked him, 'Sir, now ye grant ye are weak, and I feare ye bide not long among us, What say ye now of the state of our kirk?' He answered, holding up both his hands above his head, 'Alace, I see all the middin of the corruption of the Kirk of England coming on upon us, and it will wrack us if God send not help in time.'"—(Coronis, Row's Hist. p. 437.)

FINIS.

A SERMON

ON JOHN, CAP. V. VERSE 35.

BY

THE REV. A. SIMSON,

MINISTER AT DALKEITH.

[PREACHED IN PRIVATE, ON OCCASION OF THE DEATH OF MASTER PATRICK SIMSON, BECAUSE THE AUTHOR WAS PROHIBITED BY THE BISHOPS FROM PUBLICLY EXERCISING HIS MINISTRY,]

ANNO 1618.

NOTE.

The following Sermon is printed from the eighteenth volume, 4to, of the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library, and is annexed to the Life of Patrick Simson, as tending farther to illustrate the spirit of his times, and, indirectly, the character of the man. About the period of his death, the power of the Bishops had become paramount, and as this discourse contains references to their oppressive measures, it is, in some degree, an historical as well as a religious document.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE

PROVEIST, BAILLIES, AND COUNCILL OF STIRLING;

AND

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

D. MARY ERSKINE, LADY OF THE ORCHARD.

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND GOOD CHRISTIANS,—Since it pleased God to bring me among you to be a witness of my brother's departure, your pastor, who, on the last day of March 1618, departed, (albeit I was half dead myself, and now under such weakness that I hope the Lord will finish my course in that same faith and confidence wherein he departed,) I have dedicated this little sermon [to you,] whilk I made in the night season, (being silenced and stayed to preach publickly by the persecution of the Prelats,) after my long warding and travells. I recommend it to you, being auditors thereof, as a memoriall of that burning and shining candle who was quenched among you; as also, [of] my loving affection unto you all, and so recommends you and your ministrie to God's blessing. I rest, your most loving friend and brother,

(*Sic subscribitur*) A. Symsone.

At Dalkeith, March 1, 1619.

A SERMON

ON

JOHN, CAP. V. VERSE 35.

He was a burning and shining candle, and in his light ye would have rejoyced for a season.

Our Saviour, Christ, (honourable and welbeloved Christians,) hes proven in the former verses, by diverse testimonies, that he was the Saviour. He claimed first a testimony of his Father, who, at his baptism, and on Mount Tabor, gave him the testimony that he was his beloved Son in whom he was well pleased. There are three who bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, (1 John v. 7.) Next, he claimed a testimony of his wonderfull works, both of the first resurrection, when, be the power of his word, he raises dead souls out of the gulf of sin, and the second resurrection, when he shall raise their dead bodies out of the earth. Thirdly, he alleadged the witness of John the Baptist, that great prophet, not as absolutely necessar to him, seeing he was greater; for an humane testimony is ane inartificial argument to prove God's earands, and hes no weight bot so far as it consents with God's truth, whilk can never err. Therefore, if all the prophets and apostles, or angells of heaven, would teach otherwayes then Christ hes done, Paul pronounces them accursed and ane anathema. See, then, if the seat of Rome thinks her testimony of so good credit as it is above, at lest equall to the Scriptures, he hes three witnesses in earth, the Spirit, the blood, the water, and these three cannot

err—not the kirk, nor the voyce of men, whilk can err, and hes erred. They alleadge the Bishop of Rome cannot err in matters of faith: for that is the priviledge of that seat, as Caiphas, being high priest, prophesied truely. I answer, bot he erred in matters of faith when he rent his cloathes when Christ called himself the Son of God; he said it was blasphemy. We learn by this that ministers are called be God to bear witness to the truth; for this cause were we born, and for this cause come we to the world, to bear witness to Christ's verity. Therefore, since ye bear true and faithfull witness, and bear not false witness, add nothing to the truth, lest God add to you all the plagues of the law; diminish nothing from it, lest God scrape out your name out of the book of life; bot seeing ye are witnesses of God, studie to be faithfull, be not ashamed or afraid to give a good witness as Christ did under Pontius Pilate, that he may give you at the great day a testimony of thy great fidelity, and say, Come, faithfull servants.

Now, as John gave him a testimony, "this is the Lamb of God," so Christ gives him a witness, "this is a burning and shining candle;" and again, "What went ye out to the wilderness to see?" &c. So we may be sure that Christ will not defraud a true man of a due witness: men will extol or contemn as they please upon affections, bot Christ judges justly of all men's travells; therefore ministers should strive to behave them in their service, that in this world they may gett the privat seall of God's allowance, both of their actions and sufferings, that in the great day of his coming the great seal of his own word, before man and angel, may be given to their ministrie.

HE WAS A BURNING AND SHINING CANDLE.

He descryves in this verse two things, John the preacher and his auditors. He compares John unto a candle, and that in two things, in burning and shining; his auditors in two things. 1*st*, Their delighting in the light. 2*dly*, By their inconstancy, *for a season*. There are many names given to a preacher in the Word

of God containing (I confess) great honour, bot great burthen. He is called a watchman, a sheepherd, a steward, a porter, keeping the keyes of heaven, an ambassador, a master-builder, ane angell, a father, a witness, light, salt, and candle; God gives them no stinking styles smelling of ambition.

CANDLE.

By this, that our Saviour compares John, and under his name all pastors, to a candle, he would teach us that all the world naturally are lying in darkness, and sitting in the shadow of death: for the prince of darkness hes sent a smoak out of the bottomless pit to blind the eyes of the world, that they should not see the heavens, besyde the naturall ignorance wherein we are all born, so that the world is plunged in a double darkness of Egypt. Ye were darkness, bot ye are light in the Lord, cast off the works of darkness. When the Lord created the light, the first creature, he fand that darkness covered the face of the deep, so he fand them in ignorance and in Egypt.

Nixt, in this appears the goodness of God, who provides for the blind and dark world great lights, naturall lights in heaven, the sun for the day, the moon, the lesser light, with the starrs, for the night, to direct men by sea and land in their necessar journeys, and earthly lights of fire and candles. So God of his goodness, seeing the world plunged in the darkness of ignorance and idolatrie, hes sent his lights from heaven, Jesus Christ the light of the world, and his holy word whilk came from heaven; as also among the mids of themselves, he hes raised up prophets, apostles, and preachers, whilk ministeriall lights may let them see, and direct, and comfort them in this wilderness and dark place, where they are walking. Ministers are called candles; for as candles serve when neither sun nor moon shynes, so ministers must carry light to such as never admitted the truth of God.

SHYNING CANDLE.

A candle hes its use in shyning and burning, utherwayes it is an idol. What avails a painted candle, made green, hinging in a house, or a blind candle standing upon a table; what availls a painted minister or bishop, who hes neither light of knowledge nor zeal and heat, as a blind sheepherd of whom speaks Zechariah, (xi. 17,) O idol sheepherd that leaves the flock. The watchman being blind, how easily may the house be surprised. First, ye see the candle whilk now shynes before you (whereof I pray you take good consideration) hes no light in itself, but it must be lighted by some other fire or light,—so preachers are not born preachers, as Lords are born Lords. They have no light in themselves by nature more than ye; bot that whilk they have is from God, both to themselves and for others. Blessed art thou, Simon, son of Jonas, flesh and blood hes not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven. All good gifts are from the Father of lights. What is the naturall inclination to Christ whereof the Papists boasts? When the Lord comes to us first, we are all dead, and not sleeping, slain, and not wounded. Pray, therefore, that the Lord may illuminate your pastors, that their lips may preserve knowledge, or else they cannot lighten you. This is a part and token of darkness lighting upon the land, when he removes by death or banishment from this land shyning candles, horses and chariots of Israel, ministers who shined in life and doctrine, and in their room puts putride, blind, dead, and painted candles, who have nothing bot the shew of an eloquence and toome Asiatick[1] oratorie, and have neither light nor life in them, at the whilk ye should lighten the candle of your soul by true knowledge and holiness.

Next, The candle cannot burn unless it be nourished with oyle or some other materiall. So the gifts that God hes bestowed upon the preacher must be entertained by the oyle of God's Spirit, by

[1] Or Anatick.

the word and prayer, and meditation of the law of God; if they be not nourished continually, they will die out. It is no earthly pastimes; it is no earthly recreations whilk will nourish that light, but doth extinguish it as water does fire; it must be spiritual oyl of the graces of God whilk will intertain that lamp. That gift must be nourished, as the Apostle directs Timothy to stirr up the gift that is given him. The oyll he setts down in the First Timothy, iv. 13, 14, 15. Give attendance to reading,—not to ryding and posting,—to exhortation, and to doctrine, to learning—εν τουτοις εσθε—nourished in the words of true faith and good doctrine. In thir things, the very life and being of the preacher should be—in thir spirituall exercises; and as a man cannot be in heaven and hell at once, so no more can a preacher use heavenly devotion and contemplation, and be entangled with earthly bussiness.

Thirdly, The candle, albeit never so bright, hes need of purgation, and, therefore, the Lord appointed snuffers and snuff-dishes in the tabernacle, that the excrements being removed and brought under, the light may shine the brighter; yea, there is no stink compareable to the colling[1] of excrements of the candle, and, therefore, we hasten to put it out, for it is most offensive to our smell and to man's braine. So ministers have need of continuall sanctification and purgation; for there is no filthiness compareable to theirs; the stink of their sins kills themselves, offends the heart of the godly, and emboldens wicked men in their sins, and is a stumbling-block to weak Christians. Have, therefore, thy snuffers and thy snuff-dishes to purge thy heart daily from thy sins; keep continual hostility with thy affections that thou dimm not the light of God, but [that] thou may steir up the gift whilk God hes given thee, and shyne clearly by the light of God, when thy corruptions are suffocat; for when thy corruptions quench the light, tread upon them, so that they shall not disgrace the light that is in thee.

Fourthly, The candle as ye see, in giving light to others, it con-

[1] Cutting, clipping.

sumes itself; so ministers who shyne in clear doctrine and powerfull delivery thereof, cannot spoild themselves better, and their travells, then in their ministrie; that they make reckoning to God ilk night,—What have I done this day in my ministrie? how hes it been imployed? with what blessing to my Master? with what comfort to the people? for since we must wear, and our dayes will goe like a weaver's shuttle, or like a most swift post, or a ship fair before the wind, and howsoever we spend our tyme, it is alwayes wasting, how can we doe better nor to spend them well in our Master's bussiness? Christ being a bairne, gave that answer to his mother when he was in the temple, Knew ye not I behooved to be about my Father's bussiness? Wo to these ministers who weary of their Master's bussiness, and entangle themselves in earthly bussiness, and have fallen as a man giddie, as starrs of heaven: as Lucifer, the son of the morning, from an heavenly to ane earthly disposition! Ye ministers and bishops who trouble yourselves about many things, and leave that one thing, ye shall lose that one which Mary choosed, and these many things shall flee from you and your posterity also.

Fifthly, Seeing all candles are not of a like brightness, bot some shine brighter than another, it is enough that thy light be not hidd under a bushell: it is enough thou be shining in life and doctrine, that thy life and conversation glorify God, and the people may walk in the light of thy holy life, through this mirk world, to God's kingdom. And by the light of thy doctrine let them see the paths of Christ, wherein they should walk; for if thou wert an halfpenny candle, and carry the little light by the bowatts[1] the right way to heaven, it is sufficient; for God will not crave the accompt of quantity and measure of thy gift, bot the use and fidelity of it.

Sixthly, Candles extinguished shyne no more, bot ministers shine more after their death than in their life. This is the other quality of the candle to burn and consume; for so a little candle

[1] Lanterns.

had a heat and power to consume, so that ane whole house hes been burnt with ane candle oftentimes. This declares that preachers must not only have knowledge, bot a zeal to the glory of God. "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up," and surely this is a necessar gift craved in a pastor, for a zeal is an holy anger against that whilk offends God, whilk proceeds off an holy love to God's honour; for love is jealous, and cannot abide the contempt of that whilk it loveth. The Lord rebukes the angell of the kirk of Ephesus that he had lossed his first zeal, for the cold frost and water of earthly-mindedness quenches the fire of God's love in man's heart. Alwayes thir two must be joyned, as the Urim and Thummim in Aaron's Ephod, holy knowledge, holy zeal, light and burning. The one serves for no use without the other: zeal without knowledge is furie. I witness they have the zeal of God without knowledge. Knowledge without zeal is like the light of the moon, whilk shines without heat; bot joyn thir two together, —light and heat,—they make a perfect conjunction as the light of the sun, whilk both burns and shynes, and is always profitable to mankind, (whilk preachers most have,) and is a consuming power to burn up the dross of men's affections. We have in readiness, sayes the Apostle, the vengeance of God against their disobedience, when your obedience is compleat. What is a fire that hes no heat, or a candle that cannot burne? There be many painted candles who neither have knowledge nor zeal. Many have knowledge as the devill hes, bot no love to the truth: many hes a pretended zeal without understanding, and troubling the peace of our kirk; bot that man is only a happy and blessed preacher, and the successor of John the Baptist, who knows what he speaks, and dare speak what he knows to be the truth of God, to whom the Lord shall say, Good, wise, and faithfull servant, enter in thy Master's joy. Alace! the light and heat is going away from the preachers, and true preaching is converted into fleitching: every man hes learned the flattering stile. Wo to them that are the seed of Balaam!

AND YE DELIGHTED IN HIS LIGHT FOR A SEASON.

Now ye have heard the part of the preacher, and how he hes been a preacher, and how he hes been a candle both shyning by the light of true doctrine, and burning by holy zeal, so that the Jews were also inexcusable who had so fair a patern, and had no grace to follow it. Now he descryves his auditors, and deportrays them by two circumstances, the one of their delectation and joy whilk they had in John the Baptist his preaching. The other their inconstancy, mutability, and fickleness, that they rejoyced bot for a season.

AND YE DELIGHTED, ETC.

Our Saviour gives them a commendation whilk he retrinches here after, because it was bot temporarie; for this is no great degree of Christianity that men shall attain to hearing; bot it is a rare thing to delight in the word: for many thousands have knowledge as devills have, yea, they attain to feeling, bot it is a rare thing to come to that joy and delectation in that whilk they know and feell; and it is certain that this joy springs out of a love, for we may know and feell that whilk we have, bot we cannot delight in that whilk we love not, because joy springs naturally out of the bosome of love. By this we may learn how far a reprobate may go forward and proceed in the way of Christianity with ane elect. He may know, he may feel, he may rejoyce, he may taste of the powers of the life to come, bot he wants two things, sincerity and constancy. This is represented to us by our Saviour in that notable parable of the seed, whilk fell upon the stonnie ground, whilk sprang up with sudden joy, bot incontinent was despatched by the heat of the sun. Let us learn not to give out sudden conclusions upon men's sudden motions; for they are like unto fire-flaughts, whilk goe alse suddenly as they come, giving a shew of light without continuance. We have seen this by experience in the states of this land, nobility, gentry, commonality, yea, the pastors and

preachers themselves, who seemed at the first to have rejoyced and had their holy pleasure in the true worship and service of God, and now have given doolefull proof that their joy hes not been the true joy, bot a counterfeit and apparent delectation in that whilk they have never sensibly felt, nor in truth believed. Of this, it follows necessarly, that albeit many have counterfeited their fitts of their feeling and their joy, yet there can be no true religion without them, albeit in respect that true faith must bring forth a true delight in that whilk it follows; [so] that those that have no joy in their religion, and rejoyce not at the fruits [?] of God's worship, are atheists, and without God; for if they serve God upon constraint of laws, or for custome, or for shame, then God does not take pleasure in their service. Only let men delight and rejoyce in serving their God, hearing his word, in calling upon his name, and doeing the works of Christianity to the end, that God may delight in their offerings, and receave them acceptably.

IN HIS LIGHT.

He giveth the name of the *light* to John, suppose[1] the light John had, he had it from Christ, who was the light of the world, by which he will crown his own benefits in his own servants. Neither should this make us to presume anything in our gifts, as John the Baptist said, "I am not the bridegroom;" for the saints of God in their life sought nothing bot Christ's honour; and think we that after their death they delight to spoil him of his glory, and to be honoured by dayes, feasts, and altars, and innumerable ceremonies? Bot this is the craft of Satan, that those persones that persecute God's saints in their life, after death build up their sepulchres as the Jews did the old prophets. Bot that light wherein they delighted bot for a season shall be their just condemnation, for the joy they had shall dimm themselves; as the candle consumes the butterflee that foolishly delights therein, so shall the light of God's truth confound these who did not constantly rejoice therein.

[1] Although.

FOR A SEASON.

There is temporarie faith delivered in a word to declare the mutability and inconstancy thereof; for though we have all the vertues, all the benefits spirituall, they may weell accompany us, and byde with us till we be in heaven; bot only constancy puts on the crown upon our head, whilk caused our blessed Saviour to say, "He that perseveres to the end shall be crowned." Lord give us that gift in thir dayes of defection, wherein the starrs of heaven fall continually, and those that seemed to be fixed in the firmament of God for fear or gain fall into earthly dispositione; bot we should pray that we may be like the starrs whilk Christ had in his right hand in the Revelation of St John, against whilk the gates of hell cannot prevaill.

THE APPLICATION OF THE FORMER DOCTRINE.

Now seeing (right honourable and well-beloved) this night ye are conveened in this house (as the custome is) to condoll the death of your pastor, and seeing I am stayed by the Bishops publickly to give out any doctrin, I could do no less nor spend this tyme of the night for our mutuall comfort. It becomes not me to make greater commendation of him, lest it should be imputed to naturall affections; yet our Saviour Christ gives a true testimony to John Baptist, albeit he was his cousine. It is given not to the man, but to the truth. Ye see the candle burning before you, and shyning in the darkness of this night; and surely he shined thir many yeares in Stirling by the light of pure doctrine and a holy conversation, and burnt with the zeal of the house of God, till now at the last is consumed and ended the candle of his life to the honour and glory of his God, and to your salvation; and albeit the candle, when it is ended, shynes no more, yet I am persuaded he shynes now brighter nor the sun among the angels of God; for he converted many to righteousness, and brought home many lost sheep

to the fold of God; and for you who are the people, I confesse that ye rejoyced in the word that he taught you; ye are the seall of his ministrie; ye are the crown of his rejoyceing in the day of the Lord Jesus. Only I exhort you to abyde constant in the true profession of the faith and religion wherein ye were grounded by your faithfull pastor, and that form of his service whilk is agreeable to God's blessed will, and whilk only will be acceptable to God. Let it not be said of you that which the Spirit complained of the church of Ephesus, that they fell from their first love; but as ye delighted in the truth for a season, so let your love be constant in the truth, that this light whilk hes been among you may not be quenched in your souls, to the end that God may be moved to light your candle [again,] and give you new lights to carry the Lord Jesus to you and your posteritie. Amen.

A BRIEF

HISTORICAL RELATION

OF THE

LIFE OF MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE,

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL.

CONTAINING SEVERAL OBSERVATIONS OF THE DIVINE GOODNESS MANIFESTED TO HIM IN THE SEVERAL OCCURRENCIES THEREOF.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

DURING HIS BANISHMENT IN HOLLAND, FOR THE CAUSE OF CHRIST.

"IMITANDA ILLORUM VITA, QUI CHRISTI VITAM IMITATI SUNT."

THE

LIFE OF MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE,

MINISTER OF THE GOSPELL.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

TAKEN FROM THE COPY COLLATED WITH THE AUTHOR'S OWN MANUSCRIPT.

JAN. 1666.

SOME OBSERVATIONS OF THE LORD'S DEALING TOWARDS ME DUREING MY LIFE, WRITTEN FOR THE USE OF MY CHILDREN.[1]

MY father was Mr WILLIAM LIVINGSTONE, first minister at Monyabrock,[2] where he entered in the year 1600, and thereafter was transported about the year 1614, to be minister at Lanerk, where he died in the year 1641, being sixty-five years old.[3] His father was Mr Alexander Livingstone, minister also at Monyabrock, who was in near relation to the house of Callender, his father, who

[1] Wodrow MSS. vol. xviii. 4to, No. 9. The MS. from which this edition of the life of Livingstone is printed has on the margin various notes and rubrics in the handwriting of Wodrow, and may, therefore, be regarded as authenticated by him. But to secure as accurate an edition as possible, it has been collated with a MS. in the possession of Rev. Thomas M'Crie; and the various readings given in inverted commas on the margin are from that MS., unless they be otherwise marked. This edition has also been in part collated with a very accurate MS. in the possession of William Brown, Esq., Surgeon, Edinburgh. The discrepancies are for the most part merely verbal.

[2] Now Kilsyth.

[3] Some account of him will be found in a subsequent part of this volume.

was killed at Pinkie field, *anno Christi* 1547, being ane son of the Lord Livingston's, which house thereafter was dignified to be Earles of Linlithgow. My father was all his dayes straight and zealous in the work of reformation against Episcopacy and ceremonies, and was once deposed, and wanted not seals of his ministrie, both at Monyabrock and Lanark. His mother was Barbara Livingstone, come of the house of Kilsyth. My mother was Agnes Livingstone, the daughter of Alexander Livingstone, portioner of Falkirk, come of the house of Dunipace. She was an rare patern of piety and meeknes, and died in the year 1617, being about thirty-two years of age, and left three sons and four daughters. I was born in Stirlingshire, at Monyabrock, the 21st of June[1] 1603.

Period I.

The first period of my life I reckon from my birth till the first day I preached in publick, which was at Lanerk on ane Sabbath afternoon, the 2d of January 1625.

Having at home learned to read and write, I was sent, in the year 1613, to Stirling, to ane Latine school, where Mr William Wallace, an good man and a learned humanist, was schoolmaster, where I stayed till summer 1617; at which time I was sent for to come to Lanerk, to be present with my mother dying. About October 1617, I was sent to the Colledge of Glasgow, where I stayed some four years, and passed Master of Arts in July 1621. After that I stayed in my father's at Lanerk till I began to preach.

Dureing this time I observe the Lord's great goodness, that I was born of such parents, who taught me somewhat of God, so soon as I was capable to understand any thing, and had great care of my education, by which means also, when I was but very young, I saw somewhat of the example and carriage of sundry gracious Christians, who used to resort to my father's house, especially at

[1] One MS. has *January*.

times of the communion, such as Mr Robert Bruce and several other godly ministers, the rare Countess of Wigtoun, Lady Lillias Grahame, who also at my baptisme desyred my name, because her father, her husband, and eldest son, were all of that name; the Lady Culross,[1] the Lady Bantoon, and sundry others.

It is remarkable that Mr William Wallace came but an short while to Stirling before I was sent thither to school; and the year after I left the school he also left that charge. Likewise, worthy Mr Robert Boyd of Trochrigg was but lately come from Saumer in France, to be Principal of the Colledge of Glasgow, when I went thither, and went from the Colledge the year after I left it.

The while I was in Stirling, Mr Patrick Simpson was minister there, a man learned, godly, and very faithfull in the cause of God. And in Glasgow I heard Mr John Bell, an grave, serious man, and Mr Robert Scott, who also once was deposed for opposing the corruptions of the time.

The first year after I went to Stirling school I profited not much, and was often beaten by the schoolmaster; and one day he had beaten me with an stick in the cheek, so as my face swelled. That same day my father came occasionally to town, and seeing my face swelled, did chide with the master, that, he having a chief hand to bring him to that place, he should use me so. The master promised to forbear beating of me, and after that I profited an great deall more in my learning. And when in September 1616, I, with the rest of my equalls, had gone through all the Latine and Greek that was taught in that school, and so were ready to goe to the Colledge, and my father was come to bring me home for that end, the schoolmaster prevailed with my father, (I being so young, and the master having hopes of my proficiency,) that I should stay yet another year, and thus one other and I stayed ane year more, and for most part read by ourselves in ane little chamber above the school, the master furnishing us in books, where we went through the most part of the choice Latine writers, both poets and others,

[1] Some letters from her to Livingstone will be found at a subsequent part of this volume.

and that year was to me the largemost profitable year I had in the schools. Only in my third year in the Colledge of Glasgow, I read more then I think I did any year since. I was then under the oversight of precious Mr Robert Blair, who for two years was my regent in that colledge, and having got some ground in logick and metaphysick, and the subtilties of the schoolmen, ane vain desyre to be above my equals set me to great pains.

In many things wherunto my mind was very bent, the Lord very oft disappointed me, and alwayes to my greater advantage. After I had passed my course at the colledge, I had an great mind to the study of the scholasticks, and therefore was desyreous to spend sometime as an regent in an colledge, and for that end ane place being vacant in the Colledge of Glasgow, I studied hard and prepared to disput for the regent's place. But when the time came, I heard that one without any dispute was placed. Because in the winter of my last year at the colledge, I had been long detained in Edinburgh under doctors and chirurgions, with an fistula in my left leg; at which time, Mr Robert Boyd had taught the rest of my class some Hebrew; being grieved at that loss, I began in my father's house, by my private study, to attain to some knowledge of Hebrew, which thereafter by time I somewhat increased.

I doe not remember the time and[1] means particularly whereby the Lord at first wrought upon my heart. When I was but very young I would sometimes pray with some feeling, and read the word with delight, but thereafter would very often intermitt any such exercises, and have some challenges, and again begin and again intermitt.

I remember the first time that ever I communicated at the Lord's table was at Stirling when I was at school, where sitting at the table, and Mr Patrick Simpson exhorting before the distribution, there came such an trembling upon me that all my body shook, yet thereafter the fear and trembling departed, and I got some comfort and assureance. I had no inclination to the minis-

[1] "Or."

trie till ane year or[1] more after I had passed my course at the colledge; and that upon this occasion I had an bent desyre to give myself to the knowledge and practice of medecine, and was very earnest to go to France for that purpose, and proponed to my father that he would let me goe, but he refused the same. Also about that same time my father having before purchased some land in the paroch of Monyabrock, the rights whereof were taken in my name, and that land by ill neighbours being in a manner laid waste, and Sir William Livingstone of Kilsyth, one of the Lords of Session, being very desireous that he might buy that land, that he might build ane burgh of barronie upon it at Burnsyde, my father proponed that I should goe and dwell in that land and marry. But finding[2] that course would divert me from all study of learning, I refused that offer, and rather agreed to the selling of it, although I was not yet major to ratify the sale. Now, being in these straits, I resolved I would spend one day before God my alone; and knowing of ane secret cave in the south side of Mouse Water, a little above the house of Jeriswood, over against Cleghorn wood, I went thither, and after many to's and fro's, and much confusion and fear, anent the state of my soul, I thought it was made out to me that I behoved to preach Jesus Christ, which if I did not, I should have no assureance of salvation. After which I laid aside all thoughts of France, and medecine, and the land, and betook me to the study of divinity.

I was from my infancy bred with aversnes from Episcopacy and ceremonies. While I was in the Colledge of Glasgow in the year 1619 or 1620, being (as I think) the first year that kneeling at the communion was brought in there, I being with some two or three[3] of the young men of the colledge sett down among the people at the table, and Mr James Law, the pretended Bishop of Glasgow, coming to celebrate the communion, he urged all the people to fall down and kneel. Some did so: we sat still. He came to us, commanding us to kneel, or to depart. Somewhat I

[1] "And." [2] "That." [3] "More."

spoke to him, but doe not perfectly remember what I said. It was to this purpose, that there was no warrand for kneeling, and for want of it we ought not to be excommunicated from the table of the Lord. He caused some of the people about us to rise, that we might remove, which we did.

The next day the principall, Mr Robert Boyd, called me to him, and said, Within two or three weeks he would celebrat the communion at Govan, for he was also minister at Govan, and desired me that any whom I knew to be well-affected of the young men in the colledge I would bring them with me to him. Although he was an man of an soure like disposition and carriage, I alwayes found him soe kind and familiar as made me wonder. Sometimes he would call me and some other three or four,[1] and lay down books before us, and have us sing setts of musick, wherein he took great delight.

The first Christian acquaintance and society whereby I got any benefite was with an religious gentleman, William Cuninghame, tutor of Bonintoune, who used to be oft in my father's house. Severall tymes he and John Wier of Stockbrigs, and Alexander Tennant, James Wier, George Matthie,[2] and David Matthie, who were packmen, would meet in my chamber in Lanerk, where we used to spend some time in conferrence and prayer.

Period II.

The second period of my life I reckon from the first time I preached in publick till the time I was settled in the ministrie in Killinshie in Ireland, for having begun to preach in Jan. 1625. I continued in my father's house in Lanerk, and for the space of ane year and an halfe, and some more, I studied there, and preached sometimes there, and sometimes in some neighbouring churches,[3] and dureing that time I wrote all the preachings before I preached

1 "Some three or four others." 2 "Matthew." 3 "Kirks."

them word by word, till one day being to preach after the communion of Quodquan, and having in readiness only one preaching, which I had preached about ane week before in ane other church,[1] and perceiving sundry to be at Quodquan who had been at the other church, I resolved to choose ane new text, and having but little time, I wrote only some notes of the heads I was to deliver. Yet I found at that time more assistance in the enlargeing of these points, and more motion in my own heart, then ever I had found before, and after that I never wrote all at length, but only notes.

About April 1626, I was sent for by my Lord Kenmuir to come to Galloway, in reference to ane call to Alnwith, which at that tyme was not an parish by itself, but joyned to ane other, neither had an church builded. They offered before August next to have it disjoyned, and ane church builded, and an stipend settled, and desyred I would stay there in the meantyme. I was not willing to stay[2] at that time, there being no appearance I could preach in the meantyme. Therefore, they desyred that if they got these things performed before August, that upon an call I would[3] return, whereto[4] I condescended. But some difficulties coming in their way, they got not these things so soon done; and therefore, in harvest next, I hearkened to an call to Tarphichen, but thereafter the Lord provided a great deall better for them, for they got that worthy servant of Christ, Mr Samuel Rutherfoord, whose praise is in all the reformed churches. And I observed afterwards that severall parishes, whereto I had ane motion of an call, and was hindered either by obstructions from the bishops, or thereafter refused to be transported by the Generall Assembly, that these parishes were far better provided; for Leith got Mr David Forrester; again, Kirkaldie got Mr Robert Douglas, Glasgow got precious Mr James Durham, Antrum, in Ireland, got Mr Archibald Fergusone, Newtoune there got Mr John Greg, and Killinshie there got Mr Michael Bruce. But at that short time[5] in Galloway, I got acquaintance with the[6] Lord Kenmure

[1] "Kirk." [2] "There." [3] "Should." [4] "Whereunto."
[5] "I was." [6] "My."

and his religious lady, and severall[1] worthy experienced Christians, as Alexander Gordon of Earlestone, Alexander Gordon of Knockgray, Robert Gordon of Knockbran,[2] John, his brother, and Alexander of Cairleurch,[3] John Gordon of Barskiach, the Laird of Cairlton, Fullerton, John M'Adam, and Christian M'Adam of Waterhead, Marion M'Naught in Kirkcudbright, and severall others; for I preached at ane communion in Borg, where was many good people that came out of Kirkcudbright, and was at privat meetings with some of the forementioned at Carlurg, and at the Airds, where Earlstoun then dwelt.

In harvest 1626, I was desyred by my Lord Tarphichen to come to his house at Calder; and being desyred by the aged minister of Tarphichen to preach there, after two or three weeks the presbytrie of Linlithgow keeped an visitation of that church, where I got ane joynt call of the parish and presbytrie, and the old minister, and my Lord Tarphichen, patron of the church, and master of the land, to be minister there. The old man[4] died within an moneth or two. I preached there ane whole year, and found severall times the Lord's presence with me in preaching otherwayes then I had found before. Means was used by the paroch and the[5] Lord Tarphichen that I might be admitted and settled minister. The presbytrie, although some[6] of them were but corrupt men, shewed themselves willing thereunto. But Mr John Spotswood, the pretended Bishop[7] of St Andrews, stopped all because of my unconformity; and when the Earle of Lithgow, and Lord Tarphichen, and some others, dealt with him upon my behalf, for even at that time some few by moyen were suffered to enter the ministrie without conformity, he pretended that, notwithstanding of my unconformity, he should not hinder my entrance in some other place, but that was promised to one Mr George Hanna, who thereafter was intruded upon that poor people; and the report went that either that Mr George, or his brother Mr James, had given the Bishop, or some about him, 500 merks Scots to get that place.

1 "Other." 2 "Knockbrax." 3 Another MS. has Gairleuch.
4 "Minister." 5 "My." 6 "Many." 7 "Archbishop."

This opposition, and fear of disappointment, made the people more desireous to hear the word, and their desire to hear made, I thought, that the Lord furnished the more to be preached to them, especially toward the end; for about October 1627, the presbytrie of Lithgow wrote to me to desist to preach[1] any more at Tarphichen; and I found the two or three last Sabbaths that I preached there the sweetest Sabbaths, although sorrowfull, that I had seen in that place.

When I was forced thus to leave Tarphichen, and was resolving to return to my father's at Lanerk, and had only gone to take leave of my uncle, William Livingstone, in Falkirk, being anxious anent the case of Tarphichen and my own want of employment, when I had[2] sent away before me to Lanerk the boy that waited upon me and keeped my naig, being minded within half ane hour to follow, I got letters from the Countess of Wigtoun from Camernald, that was some six miles distant, that I would come thither to be present with her mother, the Countess of Lithgow,[3] who was a-dying, and had been all her dayes ane Papist, but some while before had quit it. When I came thither, the Earle of Wigtoun and she propounded, that seeing their house was six miles from their paroch church, and severall of their tennents about might come to hear sermon in their house, and that it was but ten or twelve myles distant from Tarphichen, and so some of them also might come, that I would stay with them, and at least in the winter time preach in the hall of Comernald to the family and such as came, untill another[4] occasion of employment offered, whereunto[5] I condescended. Thus till August 1630, at which time I went to Ireland, I continued more then two years and an half, most part in the house of the Earle of Wigtoun, but that sometimes I stayed somewhile with my father in Lanerk, and most part of these summers I was travelling from place to place, according as I got invi-

[1] "From preaching." [2] "And had."

[3] She and her husband, as Lord and Lady Livingstone, were conspicuous opponents of the Reformation. She was for some time governess to the Princess Mary, afterwards Queen of Scots.—(See Row's Hist. p. 206 and 208.)

[4] "Other." [5] "To which."

tations to preach; and especially at communions at Lanerk, at Irvine, Newmilns, Kinnert,[1] Culross, Larbor, and the Shotts, and sundry other places. I preached[2] sometimes at Glasgow for Mr Robert Scott. He dyed January 28, 1629. I was with him severall times on his death-bed. One time, in presence of many, he said, speaking of the bishops and ceremonies, their wicked and corrupt courses, "My soul abhorrs them, and my comfort is, that God withheld me from them; if God spare my dayes, I shall not be so spareing as I have been: to gain ease I have dishonoured God." And a little before his death, having lyen some while as in an kind of trance, he awaked, and took off his nightcap, and threw it to the bed's foot, and cryed out,[3] "I have now seen the Lord, and have heard him say, Set a stool, and make way for my faithfull servant, Mr Robert Scott;" and after an short while he died.

The paroch of the Shotts bordered upon the parish of Tarphichen, whether they sometimes resorted, and I was severall times invited by the minister, Mr John Hoom, at Shotts, to preach there. In that place I used to find more liberty in preaching then elsewhere. Yea, the one day in all my life wherein I got most presence of God in publick was on a Munday after an communion, preaching in the churchyeard of the Shotts, the 21st of June 1630. The night before I had been with some Christians, who spent the night in conferrence and prayer. When I was alone in the fields about eight or nine[4] in the morning, before we were to go to sermon, there came such a misgiving of spirit upon me, considering my unworthiness and weakness, and the multitude and expectation of the people, that I was consulting with myself to have stollen away somewhere, and declyned that dayes preaching, but that I durst not so far distrust[5] God, and so went to sermon, and got good assistance. I had about one hour and ane half upon the points I had meditated on Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26; and, in end, offering to close with some words of[6] exhortation, I was led on about ane hour's time in ane strain of exhortation and warning, with such

1 "Kinniel." 2 "Also." 3 "Said." 4 "A'clock."
5 "Mistrust." 6 "With a word of."

liberty and melting of heart as I never had[1] the like in publick all my life.[2] Some little of that stamp remained on the Thursday after, when I preached at Kilmarnock. But the very Munday after, preaching in Irvine, I was so deserted, that the points I had meditated and written, and had them fully in my memory, I was not able for my heart to get them pronounced. So it pleased the Lord to counterballance his dealing, and hide pride from man. This so discouraged me, that I was upon resolution for some time not to preach, at least not in Irvine; but Mr David Dickson would not suffer me to go from thence till I preached the next Sabbath day, to get (as he called it) ane mends of the devil. I stayed and preached with some tolerable freedome.

By reason of this going from place to place in the summer time, I got acquaintance with many of the godly and able ministers and professors of Scotland, which proved to me ane great advantage. The ministers chiefly were these: Mr Robert Bruce, who had been minister at Edinburgh, Mr John Scrimger, who had been minister at Kinghorn, Mr John[3] Chambers of Achterdeeren, Mr John Dick of Anstruther, Mr William Scott of Couper, Mr Alexander Henderson of Leuchars, Mr John Row of Carnock, Mr John Ker of Preston, Mr James Grier of Haddingtoun, Mr Adam Colt of Mussleburgh, Mr Richard Dickson of Kinneell, Mr David Dickson of Irvine, Mr James Greg of Newmilns, Mr John Fergushill of Ochiltrie, Mr Robert Scott of Glasgow, Mr James Inglis of Daylie, and some others; and of professors, Will. Rigg of Addernie, the Laird of Hallhill, the Laird of Corshill, the Laird of Cuninghamhead, the Laird of Cesnock, the Laird of Rowallen, John Stewart, proveist of Air, William Roger, merchant there, John Mein, merchant in Edinburgh, John Hamilton, apothecarry there, James Murray, wryter there, the Countess of Eglintoun, the Countess of Loudoun, the Lady Boyd, the Lady Robertland, the Lady Culross her sister, the Lady Moiwhonny, the Lady Hallhill, the

[1] "Felt."

[2] "All my dayes in publik."—For some account of this Communion, see Wod. Analecta, vol. i. p. 271.

[3] "James."

Lady Raith, the Lady Innerteel, and many others, all whose memory is very precious and refreshing.

I got not much read nor any settled study followed all this time; only some touches here and there both of sundry modern and ancient[1] divines. Those whereby I profited most were the preachings of four men, Mr Robert Rollock, Mr John Welsh, Mr Robert Bruce, and Mr David Dickson, whom I thought of all that I had read breathed most of the Spirit of God, least[2] affected, most clear and plain, and most powerfull. Severall of Mr Robert Rollock's preachings[3] are in print; I got in loan from John Stewart of Air a large book of sermons of Mr Welshes, all which are almost nothing but unfolding of the inward exercise of an Christian. Mr Robert Bruce I severall times heard, and in my opinion never man spake with greater power since the apostles' dayes. There are some five or six of his sermons printed, but the chief that[4] I saw was[5] some write sermons of his which I got from my father. And Mr David Dickson I often heard, and borrowed from Corshill severall[6] of his wryt sermons. Several motions were made to me of calls to churches in this tyme, as to Lithgow, to North Leith, to Kirkaldie, in which places, upon invitation, I preached in reference to ane call, but all were obstructed by the bishops.

Period III.

The third period of my life was from the time I entered the ministrie in Killinshie, in Ireland, till[7] I was settled minister at Stranrawer, in Galloway, *anno Christi* 1638.

In the summer 1630, being in Irvine, Mr Robert Cunninghame, minister at Holywood, and somewhile before that Mr George Dumbar, minister at Lairn, in Ireland, proponed to me, seeing there was no appearance I could enter into the ministrie in Scot-

1 "Sundry both ancient and modern."
2 *Least* in both MSS. In Stevenson's copy it is *best*.
3 "Sermons."
4 "Chief of what."
5 "Were."
6 "Some."
7 "The time."

land, whether or not I would be content to goe to Ireland? I answered them both, that if I got an clear call and ane free entry I would not refuse. About August 1630, I got letters from the Viscount of Clannybuie to come to Ireland in reference to ane call to the paroch of Killinshie, whether I went, and got an very unanimous call from the paroch; and because it was needfull that I should be ordained to the ministrie, and the Bishop of Doun, in whose bounds Killinshie was, was an corrupt and timorous man, and would require some engagement,[1] therefore my Lord Clannybuie sent some with me, and wrote to Mr Andrew Knox, Bishop of Rapho, who when I came and gave him[2] the letter from my Lord Clannybuie, and from the Earle of Wigtoun, and some others, that I had for that purpose[3] brought out of[4] Scotland; he told me that he knew my errand that I had to him, because I had scruple against Episcopacie and ceremonies, according as Mr Josias Welsh and some others had done before, and that he thought his old age was prolonged for little other purpose but[5] to doe such offices, that if I scrupled to call him my Lord he cared not much for it; all he would desyre of, because they got there but few sermons, [was,] that I would preach there at Ramallen the next Sabbath, and he would send for Mr William Cunninghame, and some two or three other neighbouring ministers, to be present, who after sermon should give me imposition of hands; but although they performed the work, he behoved to be present, for otherwise he durst[6] not answer it to the State. He gave me the book of ordination, and desyred that any thing I scrupled at I should draw an lyne over it in the margine, and Mr William Cunninghame should not read it; but I found it had been soe marked by some others before that I needed not mark any thing. So the Lord was pleased to carry that business far beyond any thing that I had thought or almost ever desyred.

That winter following I was often in great heaviness; for although the people were very tractable, yet they were generally

[1] "Of me." [2] "Had delivered him." [3] "End."
[4] "From." [5] "Little other thing then." [6] "Could."

very ignorant, and I saw no appearance of doing any good among them. Yet in an short time the Lord was pleased that some of them began to understand their condition.

The Bishop of Down had an evill eye upon me because I had gone elsewhere to receive ordination; and at an visitation at Doun in the spring following, whether I went much against my will, but Mr Blair and Mr Cunninghame drew me, saying, my staying away would occasion more trouble, the Bishop, before all the ministrie, enquired[1] what was my opinion of the[2] Service Book. My answer so dissatisfied him that there was some appearance I might be censured shortly, but my Lord Clannybuie prevailled with him that I should be forborn.

The paroch of Killinshie being but looked on as ane pendicle of ane other parish, to witt, Killileagh, there was never ane[3] officiall court keeped in it all the while I was there. Not only had we the publick worship free of any inventions of men, but we had also an tollerable discipline; for after I had been some while amongst them, by the advice of all the heads of families, some ablest for that charge were chosen elders to oversee the manners of the rest, and some deacons to gather and distribute the collection. We mett every week, and such as fell in notorious publick scandals were desyred to come before us. Such as came we[4] dealt with both in publick and private, and prevailed with to confess their scandalls before the congregation, at the Saturday's sermon before the communion, which was twice in the year, and then were admitted to the communion. Such as after dealing either would not come before us, or coming would not be convinced to confess their fault[5] before the congregation,[6] their names, and scandals, and impenitency, was read out before the congregation, and they debarred from the communion, which proved such an terrour, that we found very few of that sort.

We needed not have the communion ofter, for there were some nine or ten paroches within the bounds of some twenty myles or

1 "Me." 2 "Anent the." 3 "Any." 4 "Were."
5 "Scandall." 6 "The Satterday before the communion."

litle more, wherein there were godly[1] ministers that keeped ane society together, and every one of these had the communion twice in the year, and that at different times, and had two or three of the neighbouring ministers to help thereat, and most part of the religious people of each[2] paroch used to resort to the communions of the rest of the paroches. The ministers were Mr Robert Blair, minister at Bangour, Mr Robert Cunninghame at Holywood, Mr James Hamilton at Beltwater, Mr John Ridge at Antrum, Mr Henry Colwart at Oldstone, Mr George Dumbar at Learn, Mr Josias Welsh at Templepatrick, Mr Andrew Stewart at Dunagore. Most of all these used ordinarily to meet the first Fryday of every moneth at Antrum, where was an great and good congregation, and that day was spent in fasting, and prayer, and publick preaching. Commonly two preached before noon, and two afternoon. We used to come together on the Thursday night before, and stayed the Fryday night after, and consult about such things as concerned the carrying on the work of God, and these meetings among ourselves were sometimes as profitable as either presbytries or synods. Out of these parochs formerly mentioned, and out of some others also, such as laid religion to heart, used to conveen to these meetings, especially out of the Six Myle Water, which was nearest hand, and where there was greatest number of religious people; and frequently the Sabbath after the Fryday's meeting[3] the communion was celebrated in one or other of these paroches.

Among all these ministers there was never any jar or jealousie, yea, nor among the professors, the greatest part of them being Scotts, and some good number of gracious English, all whose contention was to preferr others to themselves; and although the gifts of the ministers was much different, yet it was not observed that the hearers followed any to the undervaluing of others. Many of those religious professors had been both ignorant and prophane, and for debt and want, and worse causes, had left Scotland; yet

[1] "And able." [2] "Every." [3] "After these meetings."

the Lord was pleased by his word to work such change. I doe not think[1] there were more lively and experienced Christians any where than were these at that time in Ireland, and that in good numbers, and many[2] of them persons of an good outward condition in the world. Being but lately brought in, the lively edge was not yet gone off them, and the perpetuall fear that the bishops would put away their ministers, made them with great hunger wait on the ordinances. I have known them that have come severall myles from their own houses to communions, to the Saturnday sermon, and spent the whole Saturnday night in severall companies, sometimes an minister being with them, sometimes themselves alone in conferrence and prayer, and waited on the publick ordinances the whole Sabbath, and spent the Sabbath night likewise, and yet at the Munday sermon[3] not troubled with sleepiness, and so have not sleeped till they went home. Because of their holy and righteous carriage they were generally reverenced even by the graceles multitude[4] they lived among. Some of them had attained[5] such a dexterity of expressing religious purposes by the resemblance of worldly things, that being at feasts in common inns,[6] where were ignorant profane persons, they would, among themselves, intertain spirituall discourse for ane long time; and the other professed, that although they spake good English, they could not understand what they said. In these dayes it was no great difficultie for ane minister to preach or pray in publick or private, such was the hunger of the hearers; and it was hard to judge whether there was more of the Lord's presence in the publick or private meetings.

In August 24, 1631, the Lord was pleased to deliver me from ane great danger of fire. I lay in ane high chamber of[7] ane John Stewart's house, in Ballemeroon; the room was strawed with an great deall of dry[8] sea-bent. I used never, after I was[9] asleep, to awaken till the morning; yet that night, about one a cloack, all

1 "That." 2 "Severalls." 3 "Was." 4 "That."
5 "Acquired." 6 "Being at feasts or meals." 7 "A high room in."
8 "Dryed." 9 "Fell."

the house being fast asleep, I awakened peaceably, and thought it had been day, and for ane little space keeped my eyes shut, and neither heard any noise, nor felt any smell. Within ane while, I opened myne eyes, and saw the bent burning within two ells of the bed where I lay: for ane great fire in the room below, the night before, making ready the meat of the reapers, had fired the mantle-tree of the chimney, the end whereof came to[1] the room where I lay. The fire was between me and the door of the chamber. I rose, and took with me my breeches, my Bible, and my watch, giving my books and any thing else I had for gone, and got out of the door, and called up those of the house. It pleased the Lord in ane short space[2] they got the fire quenched; whereas, in all appearance, if I had sleeped ane quarter of ane hour longer, the fire had seised on the roof of the house, covered only with straw, and so not only house and goods, but our lives had been consumed.

I got not above ane year's quiet ministrie in Killinshie; for in harvest 1631, Mr Robert Ecclin, Bishop of Doun, suspended Mr[3] Blair and me for unconformity. But the occasion was, that the summer before we had both been in Scotland, and had preached at severall parts, but especially at an communion at the Shotts, which procured that the Bishops of Scotland, especially James Law of Glasgow, sent informations against us by one Mr Henrie Leslie, then Dean of Doun, afterward Bishop of Doun. He and Sir Richard Boltoun, Lord Chief Barron of Ireland, who used to come to the assise circuits in the North, stirred up the Bishop against us; but we were shortly after restored; for we, with Mr Dumbar, Mr Welsh, Mr Hamilton, and Mr Colwert, went to Tradath, to Dr[4] Usher, called Primat of Armaugh, not only ane learned, but ane godly man, although ane bishop. Thither came also Sir Andrew Stewart, afterward made Lord Castle-Stewart, to deal for us. The Primat very cheerfully dealt for us with the bishop, so as we were at that time restored. But the

[1] "Came out in." [2] "Time." [3] "Robert." [4] "James."

Bishops of Scotland sent to the king informations against us, by one Mr John Maxwell, called Bishop of Ross; and thinking that nonconformity would not be ane hainous enough crime, they informed that we stirred up the people to extasies and enthusianisms. There were indeed in some parishes, especially in Bread Island, where was an godly aged minister, Mr Edward Bryce, some people who used in tyme of sermons to fall upon an high breathing and panting, as those doe who have run long. But most of the ministers, especially those that were complained of, discountenanced these practises, and suspected them not to proceed from any work[1] of the Spirit of God, and that upon this ground, that[2] these people were alike affected whatever purpose[3] was preached; yea, although by one that had neither gifts nor good affection to the work of God; and, accordingly, few of these people ever came forward to any solid increase[4] of Christianity, but continued ignorant and profane, and left off all that seeming motion. It is like that Mr Henry Leslie had informed this against us. However, upon these informations, the king wrote to the Lord Justices of Ireland, and by them to the Bishop of Doun, that Mr Dumbar, Mr Blair, Mr Welsh, and I, should be tryed and censured. The 4th of May, 1632, the Bishop of Doun deposed Mr Blair and me; and eight dayes after, Mr Dumbar and Mr Welsh. He proceeded against us for our unconformity, never mentioning what was in the king's letter, knowing us to be free of that charge. Therefore, we resolved for our own vindication, and upon some hopes of our restoring again,[5] to petition the king that we might be tryed in what was informed, and if guilty we refused no punishment; otherwise, that for simple unconformity we might, in respect of our Scottish breeding, be foreborn in such an barren place as the north parts of Ireland. In reference to this, shortly after, Mr Blair went to London, and I went to Scotland with an purpose to follow him; only I was to procure letters from the Lady Marqueis of Hamilton, from the Earles of Eglinton, Wigton, and Lithgow, to

1 "Working." 2 "This account, because." 3 "Subject."
4 "Exercise." 5 "In some hopes that we might be restored."

some of their friends at court, that we were free of what was informed,[1] and to desire toleration in our unconformity. Mr Blair wrote to me that it was needless for me to come; only that I should send these letters, which I did. He, after tedious on-waiting, at last obtained ane letter from the king to St[r]afford, the Lord-Deputy, that the information should be tryed, and if[2] we were found free some favour should be shewed to us: and after the letter was thus drawn up by the secretary, the king wrote in the margine with his own hand, that the matter should be narrowly tryed; and seeing he had gote from some persons of honour attestations of our innocency, that the informers should be punished if we were found free. But when Mr Blair took this letter to the Deputy to Dubline, it seems he had got new advertisement[3] from Laud, who guided all Church matters at court; for he refused, except we could[4] conform, to take any tryall or shew any favour. So we continued deposed till May 1634. At that time there being some little difference betwein St[r]afford and some of the English nobles in Ireland, and St[r]afford speaking occasionally with my Lord Castle-Stewart, ane good and wise man, he took occasion to shew him he might gain the hearts of all the Scots in Ireland, if he would restore the deposed ministers; for which he had also some warrant from the king. Hereupon he wrote that we should be restored.

Durcing all that tyme, from May 1632 to May 1634, I stayed at first some while in Killinshie, and not only had some privat meetings in severall places of the paroch, but sundry Sabbaths conveened with them in the church and prayed; and after one had read a chapter, I spoke thereon. But finding I could not long be suffered so to doe, I went to Scotland; and as I had done before, went from place to place as I had invitation to preach, or to be at communions, in those places where I had haunted before, and in some others. My chief residence at that time was in the Dean of Kil-

[1] "Laid to our charge."
[2] "That we should be tried as to the information, and that if."
[3] "Informations." [4] "Would."

marnock, with the worthy Lady Boyd; and the while I was there I preached ordinarly in the Sabbath once, being desired by the minister. I was also frequently in Lanerk with my father, and in Cumbernauld and other places; and sometimes in Edinburgh, where there were frequent privat meetings of Christians. I never had, of stipend, in Killinshie, above forty pound sterling by year, and enjoyed that but ane short space; yet (I bless the Lord) I never wanted money to supply me in all necessaries, and to bear my charges in going to and again. My father was not very able to supply me, having ane great charge of other nine children, whereof seven were daughters. Those of whom I got at severall tymes supply of money were the Lady Boyd, the Countess of Wigton, the Lady Ennerteell, and the Countess of Eglintoun.

Dureing these two years, I went once or twice[1] to Ireland to visit the parish and friends there. The last of these times, having come to Ireland in February 1634, our friends in Ireland seeing no appearance to be delivered from the yoke of the prelats' tyranny, had had ane minde to transport themselves to New England, but resolved first to send an minister and ane gentleman thither to the Governour and Councill to try the condition of the countrey, and to agree for[2] ane place to settle in; and accordingly they pitched upon William Wallace and me to goe straight to London, to goe from thence with the first ship that went in the spring, and return with the first conveniency. Therein I perceived, howbeit I trust the Lord did accept and approve of our intention, yet wonderfully he stopped our designs; for had William Wallace come to me to Grooms-port, in Ireland, at the time prefixed, we might easily have reached London before the first ships went. But he staying some two dayes, taking his leave of his family, all which time the wind was fair; so soon as he came the wind became contrary for ane fourthnight, but after that we came to Scotland, and made all the hast we could to London; but

[1] "Over."

[2] "A gentleman thither to try the condition of the countrey, and to agree with the Governour and Councill for."

all the ships were gone, only three to goe within a fourthnight or soe. The first we met with who had interest in these ships was Mr Homfrey, who urged much that we should go with him in his ship. We told we would advise. After that, Mr Bellinghame having ane greater[1] ship, offered us better accommodation; yet, because Mr Humfray spoke first, we agreed to goe with him. Had we gone with Mr Bellinghame, we had gone forward; but Mr Humfray, to gain time to doe some business, and to eschew some tossing at sea, did not go aboard when the ship loosed, but took us with him to Dorchaster, that when the ship should come over against Weymouth, we might goe aboard. On ane Sabbath before noon, the[2] ships came to Weymouth, the other two went forward with a spaired [spread?] sail. Mr Humfray desired his ship to cast herself on[3] the stayes till we should hear Mr White of Dorchaster preach. Afternoon we went aboard; but by this means, when ane storm and contrary wind came on Wedensday next, the other two ships being all past Land's-end, stood to sea, and we were forced to come to ane anchor at Plymouth, and stayed there eight or ten dayes with contrary winds. Dureing this time, William Wallace fell sick, and both was averse himself, and advised by doctors not to goe to sea; and our friends in Ireland had condescended that I should not goe alone without him, and therefore we both resolved to return. When we were coming back, I told him that I apprehended that we would get our liberty in Ireland; and accordingly, when we came, we found that we four who had been deposed were restored by the Deputie's letter in May 1634.

Shortly after, on Munday, 23d of June 1634, the Lord was pleased to call home worthy Mr Josias Welsh. I heard of his dangerous sickness the Sabbath afternoon before, and came to him to Templepatrick about eleven[4] at night, two hours after Mr Blair came. He had severall[5] gracious and edifying expressions, as also some wrestlings. One time when he had cryed, "Oh for hypocrisie!"

[1] "Larger." [2] "Three." [3] "In." [4] "A'clock." [5] "Many."

Mr Blair said to the great company of Christians present, "See how Satan nibbles at his heel when he is going over the threshold to heaven." A little after, I being at prayer at the bedside before him, and the word "Victory" coming out of my mouth, he took hold of my hand, and desired me to cease a little, and clapped both his hands, and cryed out, "Victory! Victory! Victory for evermore!" and then desyred me to goe on in prayer, and within a short while thereafter he expired. Mr Blair and Mr Dumbar were again deposed within half an year. I continued preaching in Killinshic for ane year and an half, till November 1635.

During my abode at London, I got acquaintance with my Lord Forbes, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstal, Sir William Constable, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir Matthew Boynton, Doctor Gouge, Doctor Stibs,[1] Mr Philip Rye,[2] Mr Thomas Goodwin, little Mr Harris, and Mr Rols, and severall others. I was often with Doctor Alexander Lightone, who was prisoner in the Fleet. He dissuaded me from going to New England, and told me he was confident we would see the downfall of the bishops in Scotland, which came to passe within three years. Some other things he then told me, which whether come yet to pass or not I know not.

In June 1635, the Lord was graciously pleased to bless me with my wife, who how well accomplished every way, and how faithfull an yoke-fellow, I desire to leave to the memory of others. She was the eldest daughter of Bartholomew Fleeming, merchant in Edinburgh, of most worthy memory, whose brothers were John Fleeming, merchant in Edinburgh, and Mr James Fleeming, minister at Bathons. Her father dyed at London in the year 1624, and was laid hard by Mr John Welsh, and these two only, of ane long time, had been solemnly buried without the Service Book. Her mother was an rare godly woman, Marion Hamilton, who had also three religious sisters, Elizabeth, married to Mr Richard Dickson, minister first at the West Church of Edinburgh, after at Kineell; Barbara, married to John Mein, merchant in

1 "Sibbs." 2 "Ny."

Edinburgh; and Beatrix, married to Mr Robert Blair. Her brother, James Fleeming, ane gracious and hopefull youth, dyed in the year 1640; ane while after, his sister Marrion dyed when she had been sometime married to Mr John M'Clellan, minister at Kirkcudbright. Her mother, with her second husband, John Stevenson, and her family, came to Ireland in the end of the year 1633. When I went ane visit to Ireland in the year 1634, Mr Blair proposed to me that marriage. Immediately thereafter,[1] I was sent to London, to have gone to New England, and returned the June following. I had seen her before severall times in Scotland, and heard the testimony of many of her gracious disposition; yet I was for nine moneths seeking as I could direction from God anent that bussiness, dureing which time I did not offer to speak to her, (who I believe had not heard anything of the matter,) only for want of clearness in my minde, although I was twice or thrice in the house, and saw her frequently at communions and public meetings; and it is like I might have been longer in that[2] darkness, except the Lord had presented an occasion of our conferring together; for in November 1634, when I was going to the Fryday meeting at Antrum, I forgathered with her and some other going thither, and proponed to them by the way to conferr upon an text, whereon I was to preach the day after at Antrum, wherein I found her conferrence so judicious and spiritual that I took that for some answer of my prayer to have my mind cleared, and blamed myself that I had not before taken occasion to conferr with her. Four or five dayes thereafter, I proponed the matter to her, and desired her to think upon it; and after a week or two, I went to her mother's house, and being alone with her desyring her answer, I went to prayer, and urged her to pray, which at last she did, and in that time I got abundant clearness that it was the Lord's mind[3] I should marry her. I then proponed the matter more fully to her mother; and albeit I was thus fully cleared, I may truely say it was above ane moneth after before I got marriage affection to her,

[1] "A little after." [2] "Such." [3] "That."

although she was for personall enduements beyond many of her equalls, and I got it not till I obtained it by prayer; but thereafter I had greater[1] difficulty to moderat it.

In summer 1635, her mother and she went to Scotland, and I followed, because on both sides we were to have the consent of friends. In Scotland we were married in the West Church of Edinburgh by my father, June 23, 1635; and although some told me some few dayes before that Spotswood, who was then Chancelor of Scotland, had given order to macers to apprehend me, our marriage was very solemn, and countenanced with the presence of ane good number of religious friends, among whom was also the Earle of Wigton and his son, my Lord Fleeming, in the house of her uncle, John Fleeming, who did as great ane duty[2] as if she had been his own daughter; and providences so ordered it, that thereafter at severall times I was present with him and his eight daughters on their death-bed, and clearly discerned in them all full evidences of the grace of God. I was also at the gracious death of her uncle, Mr James, minister at Bathons. From Edinburgh we went over to Ireland, and remained in her mother's house, being at the iron-furnace of Milton,[3] some twelve myles from Killinshie, because there was so little appearance I might[4] continue in my ministrie there; for in November 1635 I was again deposed by Mr Henry Leslie, called Bishop of Doun, and some while thereafter was excommunicated by his order by one Mr John Melvine, minister at Doun, and for any thing[5] I know that sentence stands of theirs,[6] in such force as it can have, to this day. But I bless the Lord the curse causeless hath not light on me; but I have found since the Lord's blessing on soul and body, on family name and goods. Yea, when after the rebellion I was sent to Ireland in the year 1642, that Mr John Melvill was among the first that welcomed me a shoare, and professed his grief that he had an hand in such an wicked act. Notwithstanding of the censure of the Bishops, I continued still preaching every Sabbath in my mother's

1 "More." 2 "To her." 3 "Being." 4 "Should."
5 "For ought." 6 "That sentence of theirs stands."

house, whether severall resorted, where Mr Blair preached, for he and his wife came and remained also at my mother's house.

This winter, perceiving no appearance of liberty either to preachers or professors from the bondage of the prelats,[1] the number of the north of Ireland, and some few out of Scotland, resolved to transport ourselves to New England: others of our ffriends thereafter minded to follow us. We had got letters from the governour and councill full of kind invitation and large promises of good accommodation. We built an ship near Belfast, called The Eagle Wing, of about 150 tunn burden, and were minded to have set out in the spring 1636; but through the difficulties that use to arise in such undertakings in preparing the ship and our other accommodations, it was the September following before we sett sail. We were in all to goe passengers at that time, the matter of 140 persons, of whom the chief were Mr Blair, John Stewart, provcist of Aire, Mr Robert Hamilton, after minister at Ballantrie, Mr John M'Clellan, after minister at Kirkcudbright, Charles Campbell, John Sommerveill, Hugh Brown, and severall other single persons and families, among whom was one Andrew Brown of the paroch of Lern, born deaf and dumb,[2] who had been an very vitious loose man; but when it pleased the Lord to work an change on severall in that paroch, an very sensible change was observed in him, not only in forsaking his former loose courses and company, but joyning himself to religious people, and all the exercises of God's worship[3] in publick and private; and ordinarly, morn and even, used to goe alone to prayer, and would weep at sermons, and by such signs as these that were acquainted with him understood, would express many things of the work of God upon his heart; so that, upon his earnest desire, by the consent of all the ministers who used to meet at Antrum, he was at last admitted to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper.

[1] "Of prelacie."

[2] In reference to this person, Wodrow has the following rubric on the MS. :— *Andrew Brown, deaf and dumb, a Christian.*

[3] "Both."

I was abundantly clear in minde that the Lord approved our intention and endeavour, and was as ready in making all sorts of preparation as any of the rest; yea, dureing all that time, Mr Blair, and we that were in my mother's house, spent one day every week in fasting and prayer for an blessing to[1] our undertaking. Yet I often told my wife, long before our outsetting, that it gave me in my mind that we would never goe to New England. But I laid not so great hold on that as thereafter I found I had reason to doe.

Finding it would be the end of summer before we could be ready to goe, I went in March 1636 to Scotland to take leave of my father and[2] other dear friends there, and went to most of all the places where I had haunted before, and found in the midst of much mutual grief my heart often well refreshed both in publick and private. I came back in the end of Aprile. In August, all the rest of the honest ministers were deposed, Mr Cuninghame, Mr Ridge, Mr Bryce, Mr Hamilton, and Mr Colwort. June 30, my eldest son John was born, and was the next day, after sermon, baptized by Mr Blair in our own house.

We had much toyle in our preparations, and many hinderances in our setting out, and both sad and glad hearts in taking leave of our friends. At last, about September 9, 1636, we loosed from Loughfergus, but with contrary wind were detained some time in Lochryan, in Scotland, and grounded the ship to search some lecks in the Koyles of Boot; yet thereafter we set to sea, and for some space had an fair wind till we were between three and four hundred leagues from Ireland, and so nearer the bank of Newfoundland than any part of Europe. But if ever the Lord spake by his winds and other dispensations, it was made evident to us that it was not his will that we should go to New England; for we forgathered with ane mighty horecain out of the north-east, that brake our rudder, which yet we got mended by the skill and courage of Captain Andrew Agnew, a godly passenger, who upon

[1] "On." [2] "All."

a tow was to his neck in mending of it. It brake much of our gallion-head, our fore-cross-tree,[1] and tare our fore-sail, five or six of our champlaitts[2] made up, ane great beam under the gunner-roome door brake, seas came in over the round-house, and brake ane plank or two in[3] the deck, and wett all them that were between decks. We sprung a leck that gave us 700 stroak of water in two pomps in the half-hour glass: yet we lay at hull a long time to beat out that storm, till the master and company came one morning and told us[4] it was impossible to hold out any longer, and although we bear[5] out that storm, we might be sure in that season of the year we would forgather with one or two more of that sort before we could reach New England. After prayer, when we were consulting what to doe, I proponed an overture, wherewith I was somewhat perplexed thereafter, to witt, that seeing we thought we had the Lord's warrant for our intended voyage, howbeit it be presumption to propone ane sign to him, yet we being in such a strait, and having stood out some dayes already, we might yet for twenty-four houres stand to it, and if in that time he were pleased to calm the storm, and send an fair wind, we might take it for his approbation of our advancing, otherwise that he called us to return. To this they all agreed. But that day, and especially the night thereafter, we had the sorest storm that we had seen; so that the next morning, so soon as we saw day, we turned, and made good way with an main-cross and an litle of ane foretop-sail, and after some tossing, we came at last, on the 3d of November, to ane anchor in Lochfergus. Dureing all this time, amidst such fears and dangers, the most part of the passengers were very cheerful and confident; yea, some in prayer had expressed such hopes that rather than the Lord would suffer such an companie in such sort to perish if the ship should break, he would put wings to all our shoulders, and carry us safe ashoare. I never in my life[6] found the day so short as all that while, although I sleeped some nights not

[1] "Fore-cross-trees." [2] Another MS. has *chain-plaits*.
[3] "On." [4] "That." [5] "Beat." [6] "Dayes."

above two hours, and some none at all, but stood most part in the gallery astarn of the great cabin, where Mr Blair and I and our families lay. For in the morning, by that time that every one had been some time alone, and then at prayer in their severall societies, and then at publick prayer in the ship, it was time to goe to dinner, and after that visit our friends in the gunnar-room, or those betwixt the decks, or any that were sick, and then publick prayer would come, and after that supper and family exercises. Mr Blair was much of the time weakly, and lay in tyms of storm. I was sometimes sick, and then my brother M'Clelland only performed duty in the ship. Severall of these, between decks being throng, were sickly. One aged person and one child died, and were buried in the sea. One woman, the wife of Michael Coltheard of Killinshie paroche, brought forth an child in the ship. I baptized him on the Sabbath following, and called him Seaborn.

My wife went aboard with her son sucking her breast, being about fourteen weeks old, yet she had milk abundance for him, and to help some others. Mr Blair was much afflicted with our returning, and fell in a sound[1] that day that we turned back; and although we could not imagine[2] what to make of such ane dispensation, yet we were confident that the Lord would let us see something that would abundantly satisfie us, which began to appear the year following in opposition made to the Service Book, and more fully in 1638 in renewing the Covenant. Our outward means was much impaired by this dispensation, for we had put most of our stocks in provisions, and somewhat of merchandize, which we behooved to sell at low rates at our return, and had provided ourselves with some servants for fishing and building of houses, whom we behooved to turn off. That which grieved us most was, that we were like to be ane mockrie to the wicked; but we found the contrair, that the prelates and their adherents were much dismayed and feared at our return. But neither they nor we knew that

1 "Swoon." 2 "Tell.

within an year the Lord would root out the prelats out of Scotland, and after that out of England and Ireland. Mr Blair went and dwelt at the Stron of Bèlfast, others elsewhere. I came back and dwelt at my mother's house, and preached each Sabbath that winter as at other times before.

In February 1637, one Frankhill of Castlereach, who yet used to come some Sabbaths to hear sermon in my mother's house, being in Dublin, informed the State against Mr Blair and me. Order is given for our apprehension. One night one Andrew Young, ane servant of Mr Bar's, who lived hard by our house, overheard ane pursevant calling to an stabler to prepare two horses against the morrow morning for him, and ane other, because they had orders to goe to the North, and bring up two Scotts deposed ministers. This Andrew goes immediatly to another stable, prepares a horse, and rode all that night, and in two dayes after brings us word, so as Mr Blair and I went out of the way, and came over to Scotland. When he came to Irvine to Mr David Dickson, he told me that some good gentlemen of that countrey had been with him, having heard that we were come to Scotland, and desyred him not to imploy us to preach for fear that at such ane time the Bishops, being then upon the urgeing of the Service Book, might take occasion thereby to put him out of his ministrie. But, said he, I dare not follow their opinion so far to discountenance you in your sufferings as not to employ you as in former times, but would rather think[1] so doing would provock the Lord that I might be on ane other account deposed, and not have so good ane conscience. We were very unwilling either to occasion his trouble or dissatisfie any of the gentlemen of the countrey; but he urged with such grounds as we could not get refused. After that I went by Dean and Loudon and Lanerk to Edinburgh, and remained there some space, being at some private meetings[2] every day; and when I returned to the communion at Irvine, which was March 26, I found that my wife having come only ane visit from her mother's house to New

[1] "That." [2] "Meeting."

toun to see the Lady Airds, and finding some of our Killinshic people going by to goe to Irvine communion, she presently came along to Scotland with them, bringing with her the child sucking her breast, and an servant woman to wait on him. She came with an purpose to have gone back presently; but I keeped her still, and brought her with the child to my father's to Lanerk, and sent to Ireland for some of our goods, and stayed in Lanerk till I went to Stranrawer.

While we were at Irvine, the Lord called home sweet Mr Cuninghame, minister at Holywood, on the 29th of March 1637; for both he and all the rest of the deposed ministers were forced to flee out of Ireland. He had many gracious expressions of the Lord's goodness to him, and his great peace in regard of the cause of his sufferings, and spake much and weell to the presbytrie of Irvine, when they came to see him the day before he dyed. And ane little before he dyed,[1] his wife sitting on the foreside of the low bed wherein he lay, and having her hand upon his hand, he was in prayer commending his flock of Holywood to God, and his dear acquaintance and children;[2] at last he said, "And, O Lord, I commend to thy care this gentlewoman, who is now no more my wife;" and with that he gently thrust away her hand with his hand, and after ane while he sleeped in the Lord.

In the beginning of June, my wife went to Ireland, being sent for to be with her mother, who was a-dying. Because I might not goe myself, I sent my brother Samuel with her. After the death and burial of her mother, she returned in September next, and came and remained in Lanerk, where, the 7th of January following, being 1638, she brought forth her second son William.

All that summer, 1637, I had as much work in preaching in publick, and exercises in private, as any time before, partly in Lanerk, and partly in the West, and at communions in diverse places, and in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and in the Presbytrie of Stranrawer, while I was waiting at the Port for my

[1] "His death."

[2] "And."

wife's coming out of Ireland. This summer, severall[1] ministers of Scotland were charged with letters of horning to buy and receave the Service, which stirred up great thoughts of heart through the land, beside ane tumult in Edinburgh, begun by some of the common people at the first reading of the Service Book. The true rise of that blessed reformation in Scotland began with two petitions against the Service Book, the one from the West, and the other from Fyfe; which mett together at the councill door in Edinburgh, the one not knowing of the other. After that, about the 20th of September, a great many petitions from severall[2] parts were presented against the Service Book. These being delayed by the king, the number of the petitioners and their demands encreased; for they desired not only exemption from the Service Book, but from the five ceremonies of Perth and the High Commission Court: and these things being denyed, they at last desired also freedome from Episcopacie, and ane free Parliament and Generall Assembly. When these things were still denyed, and their number had so encreased, that in some sort they were the whole body of the land, and considering that the Lord's controversie with them was the breach of Covenant, they did, in the beginning of March 1638, renew the National Covenant which had formerly, by authority both of king and parliament, severall times been sworn. I was immediatly sent to goe post to London with severall copies of the Covenant, and letters to friends at court of both nations. To avoid discovery, I rode in an gray coat and ane gray Montero cap. One night rideing late, the horse and I fell to the ground, where I lay about[3] ane quarter of an hour as dead. The first thing I discerned when I came to myself, I found the guide sitting under me and crying and weeping; yet it pleased the Lord, I recovered and got to Ferribrigs, where, after ane day or two's stay, I came to London, but one of my eyes and part of my cheek being blood-shott, I did not goe to street, but Mr Eleazar Borthwick delivered the letters for me. Some friends and some

[1] "Of the." [2] "Sundry." [3] "Near."

of the English nobility came to my chamber to be informed how matters went. I had been but ane few dayes there, when Mr Borthwick came to me,[1] and told that the Marquèis of Hamilton had sent him to me to shew he had overheard the king saying I was come, but he would endeavour to put a pair of fetters about my feet. Wherefore, fearing to be waylaid on the post-way, I bought ane horse, and came home by St Albans and the Westerway.

I was present at Lanerk and at severall other paroches, when on ane Sabbath after the forenoon sermon, the Covenant was read and sworn, and may truely say that in all my life, except one day in the church[2] of Shotts, I never saw such motions from the Spirit of God; all the people generally and most willingly concurring, where I have seen above 1000 persons all at once lifting up their hands, and the tears dropping down from their eyes; so that through the whole land, except the professed Papists, and some few, who for base ends adhered to the Prelates, the people universally entered into the Covenant of God for reformation of religion, against prelaeie and the ceremonies.

Period IV.

The fourth period of my life I reckon from the time I entered to the ministrie at Stranrawer, till I was transported to Ancrum.

In the end of May 1638, I got letters from the Earle of Cassills to come to his house of Cassills in reference to ane call to ane paroch, wherein he had some interest. When I came there, there came both at one time commissioners from the town of Stranrawer in Galloway, and from the paroch of Straiton in Carrick, with ane call to me. I desyred some time to advise, and because both equally urged me, I proponed we should referr the matter to the determination of[3] six ministers, Mr Blair, Mr Dick-

1 "My chamber." 2 "At the kirk."
3 "Refer the determination of the matter to."

sone, Mr Andrew Cant, Mr Alexander Henderson, Mr Samuel Rutherfoord, and my father; who, by occasion of another meeting, were all to be in Edinburgh within ane few dayes. My own mind inclined most to Straiton, because it was an obscure place, and the people being landwart simple people, were more likely to be wrought upon by the gospell. But they all having heard both parties, advised me to hearken to the call of Stranrawer, being ane throw-fair within four myles of Portpatrick; and so nearer for the advantage of our people in Ireland. So I was there received by the Presbytrie the 5th of July 1638, and shortly after transported my family thither, and I remained in the ministrie of that place untill harvest 1648, when, by the sentence of the Generall Assembly, I was transported to Ancrum in Teviotdale. Because I had some houshold furniture to carry, and the way was far, I put my family in a boat at Irvine, and put in ane tolerable quantity of meat and drink. The wind being the first day very fair, and so we likely to come soon to our port, the boat's company consumed most of all our provision, so that by ane calme and ane litle contrary wind, being three dayes at sea, we were ane whole day we had neither meat nor drink, nor could reach no coast, and my wife had then an child sucking her breast. Yet it pleased the Lord we came safe to Lochryen. Some of our friends out of Ireland came and dwelt at Stranrawer, and at our communions twice in the year great numbers used to come; at one time 500 persons; and at one time I baptized towards twenty-eight children brought out of Ireland.

Providence so ordered it, that I was ane member of the Generall Assembly of Glasgow in November 1638, which established the reformation of religion, and of all the rest of the Generall Assemblies, even till that in the year 1650, except only that of Aberdeen, 1640. When I came first to Stranrawer, some of the folk in the town desyred to come to our house to be present at our family exercise. Therefore I proponed that I would chuse rather every morning to goe to the church, and so each morning at nine a'clock the bell rang. We conveened, and after two or three

verses of ane psalm sung, and ane short prayer, some portion of Scripture was read and spoke upon, only so long as ane half hour glass ran, and then closed with prayer. The whole paroch was within the bounds of the litle toune, the people was[1] very tractable and respectfull, and no doubt, had I taken pains, and behaved as I ought to have done, more fruit would have followed among them. I was sometimes well satisfied and refreshed, being with some of them on their death-bed.

I was sent out by the Presbytery in the year 1640, to goe with the Earle of Cassills' regiment, when our army went to Newcastle. The army lay some weeks at Chouslywood, a myle or two from Dunce, till the rest of the army came up. I had there ane litle trench tent and ane bed lying[2] between two leaguer chists, and having lyen severall nights with my cloathes on, and being wearied with want of sleep, I did one night ly with my cloathes off. That night was very cold, and while I sleeped, all the cloathes went off me, so that in the morning I was not able to stirr any part of my body, and I had much adoe, with the help of my man and my baggadge man, to get on my cloathes. I caused them to put me on my horse, and went to Dunce, and lay doun on ane bed, and caused them to give me [in]to the bed ane big tinn stoup full of hot water, whereby ane sweat was procured, so that before night I was able to rise and put on my own cloathes.

When the whole army was come up, it was found that there was want of pouder and of bread, the bisket being spoiled, and of cloath to be tents[3] to the souldiers. This produced some fears that the expedition might be delayed for that year. One day when the Committee of Estates, generall officers, and some ministers, were met in the Castle of Dunce, and were at prayer, and consulting what to doe, ane officer of the guard came and knocks rudely at the door of the room where we were, and told there was treachery discovered; for he going to ane big cellar at the bottom of the house seeking for some other thing, had found ane great

1 "Were." 2 "Hung." 3 "Huts."

many barrells of pouder, which he apprehended was intended to blow us all up. After search, it was found that that pouder had been laid in there the year before when the army departed from Dunce Law, after the pacification, and had been forgotten. Therefore, having found pouder, the Earle of Rothes, the Lord Loudon, Mr Alexander Hendersone, and Mr Archibald Johnstone, were sent to Edinburgh, and in ane few dayes brought us as much meal and cloath for tents to the souldiers, by the gift of well-affected people there, as sufficed for the whole army.

The 20 of August 1640, the army marched [in]to England, and eight dayes thereafter, after some little opposition made by the English army, passed Tyn at Newburn, and had Newcastle rendered to them, and after new petitions to the king, followed the treaty at Rippon, and thereafter the calling of the Parliament of England in November following, where the large treatie was concluded. It was laid upon me by the Presbytery of the army, to draw up ane narrative of what had happened in that skirmish when we passed at Newburn, which I did in a paper out of what I saw or heard from others, by the help of the Lieutenant-Generall. It was very refreshfull to remark, that after we came to ane quarter at night, there was nothing almost to be heard throughout the whole army but singing of psalms, prayer, and reading of Scripture, by the souldiers in their severall hutts, and as I was informed there was large more of that sort the year before when the army lay at Dunce Law. And, indeed, in all our meetings and consultings, both within doors and in the fields, alwayes the nearer the beginning, there was more dependence on God, and more tenderness in worship and in walking, but through proces of time we still declined more and more. That day we came to Newburn, the Generall and some others stepped aside to Haddon on the Wall, where old Mrs Fenwick came out and met us, and burst out, saying, And is it so that Jesus Christ will not come to England for reforming of abuses, but with ane army of 22,000 men at his back?

In November 1640, I returned back to Stranrawer. All the

rest of the paroches of the countrey had before that contributed money to send to buy cloathes to their souldiers whom they had sent out. This was not yet done in Stranrawer by reason of my absence. We had sent out our fourth fensible man, to witt, fifteen men. The toun was but little and poor; all the yearly rent had been estimat but to 2000 merks Scots money, out of which ane part of the ministers' stipends was to be payed, but the Earle of Cassills payed ane great part of it. On the Saturnday morning after I came home, one came to me to enquire if I had any word to the army, he being to goe the Munday or Tuesday following. Therefore at our meeting in the church on that Saturnday, I proponed to them the condition of the army, and desyred they would prepare their contribution to be given to-morrow after the afternoon's sermon; at which time we got L.45 sterling, whereof we sent L.15 to our own souldiers, and L.15 to Captain Elies' company, who were all Ireland men, and so had no paroch in Scotland to provide them; and L.15 to the Commissar-Generall to be distributed by publick order. The reason that we got so much was, that there were sundry families of Ireland people dwelling in the toun. One woman, Margarit Jamie, the wife of William Scott, ane maltman, who had fled out of Ireland, and were but in a mean condition, she gave seven twenty-two shilling sterling pieces, and ane elevin shillings piece of gold. When the day after, when I enquired at her how she came to give so much, she answered, I was gathering, and had laid up this to be an part of portion to ane young daughter I had; and whereas the Lord lately hath pleased by death to take the daughter I had to himself,[1] I thought I would give [him] her portion also.

In summer 1641, the Generall Assembly was keeped at Edinburgh, and after that the parliament, where the king was present, and ratified all the preceding work of reformation. When I was coming home from that Assembly I stayed with my father at Lanerk, till it pleased the Lord to call him home to himself. He

[1] "Take away my daughter."

was worn with sore pains of the gravell, but he had great peace in minde. He dyed on the Saturnday morning, and was to be buried on the Munday following. All the night before the buriall I had an sore fitt of the gravell, which now and then for some five years before had taken me, and continued, but with long intermissions, for eight or nine years thereafter. This put me in fear that it might continue the time of the buriall; therefore I besought the Lord, if he so pleased, to free me of the pains[1] till I might perform that duty to my father to see him buried, although it should come the sorer on me thereafter. About eight a clock I was fully freed of the pain, and so continued till all was done, and was making account it would not return at that time; but within an hour, when[2] I was come into the house, my pain came again, and continued a day or two.

In October 1641, the Rebellion breake out in Ireland. Many of the religious people in the North of Ireland had left it in the year 1637, when the deposed ministers were forced out of it by pursevents sent out to apprehend them. Others left it in the year 1639, when the deputy urged upon all the Scots in Ireland an oath abjuring the Nationall Covenant of Scotland, and so they were free of that stroak of the rebellion. Many of those that took the oath were murthered by the rebells. Such as lived nearest the coast over against Scotland for most part escaped, and sundry fled from other parts of the countrey to them. It is observable, that the stroak upon the people in the North of Ireland increased by degrees. At first they thought it an hard case they were not sure to enjoy their ministers; but thereafter their ministers were deposed. When that was found yet harder to be born, the ministers were forced to flee the countrey, and hyrelings thrust upon them. When that had continued sometime, and they thought hardly ane worse condition would[3] come, the abjuring oath was urged upon them, and after all comes the bloody sword of the rebells. And I have heard some of them that escaped the sword of the rebells

[1] "Pain." [2] "After." [3] "Could."

say,[1] that they thought the oppression and insolencies of some of the Scots army that came over was to them worse than the rebellion. That winter following, many[2] came flieing over to Scotland, sundry came to Ayr and Irvine, and other places of the West, by sea; but the greatest number came by Portpatrick and Stranrawer, and were for the most part in a very destitute condition. There had been collected in Edinburgh, and some other places about, considerable soumes of money for their supply, of which there was sent to me the matter of a thousand pound Scots, to distribute to needy persons at their first arriving. All this in a few weeks was distribute in presence of some of our elders. The most that was given to any was half ane crown, only ane very few got five shilling sterling; but for the most part they got bot one shilling or eighteen pence, the number was so great. Of all these numbers that came our way, I hardly observed one person sufficiently sensible of the Lord's hand in it, or of deserving on their part, except one Englishman, so far had the stroak seised on spirits as weel as on bodies.

In Aprile 1642, I was sent by order of the Councill of Scotland to Ireland, to wait on the Scots army that then went over with Major-Generall Monroe, and stayed for six weeks, most part in Carrickfergus, where the head-quarters were; and for other six weeks, most part at Antrum, with Sir John Clatworthie and his regiment, who had obtained ane order from the Councill for me so to doe. I preached for most part in these two places, but sometymes in other paroches of the coast-side about; and before I left Antrum, we had the communion celebrate there, where sundry that had taken the oath did willingly, and with great expressions of grief, publickly confess the same. I found ane great alteration in Ireland. Many of these who had been civill before, became[3] many wayes exceeding loose; yea, sundry who, as was conceived, had true grace, were declyned much in their tenderness; so as it would seem the sword opens anc gape, and makes almost every body

1 "Complain." 2 "Severall." 3 "Were become."

worse than they were before, ane inward plague coming with the outward; yet some few were in a very lively condition. I went with the army to the fields when they took in Newrie; a party of the rebells that made some opposition by the way, at the entrie of ane wood, were killed. They were so fat that one might have hid his fingers in the lirks of their breasts.

The people in the North of Ireland sent Commissioners to the next Generall Assembly of Scotland, in the year 1642, petitioning for ministers to be sent to them; for now they had none at all. The Assembly thought not fitt to loose any; but for four or five year thereafter, ordered some eight ministers in the year to goe over for visits, two for three moneths, and after them other two; and, in the meantyme, some godly and eminent[1] young men to be dealt with to goe over and settle,[2] and that these ministers might in parishes erect elderships, and, with the presbytery of the army, try and admitt ministers. These ministers that went used for most part to separate themselves to diverse paroches, in severall parts of the countrey, there being such a great number of vacant paroches, yet so as the one would also visite the places where the other had been. By this appointment, I was sent[3] over to Ireland three moneths in the summer 1643, and as long in summer 1645, and[4] 1646 and 1648. In the[5] 1646, I went thither with the Marqueis of Argyle and some other Commissioners, who went to desyre some of the Scots army[6] in Ireland to be sent to Scotland. In the year 1648 I was desired by the Commission of the Church[7] to deal with the army not to send any to joyn with the engadgers.

For the most part, dureing all these three moneths, I preached every day once, and twice on the Sabbath. The destitute paroches were many, the hunger of the people was become great, and the Lord was pleased to furnish otherwise than usually I was wont to get at home. I went[8] ordinarly the night before to the place where I was to preach the next day, and commonly lodged in some

1 "Able."
2 "Over for settling."
3 "Went."
4 "In summer."
5 "Year."
6 "That was."
7 "Kirk."
8 "Came."

religious person's house, where we were often weel refreshed with family exercise. Uswally I desyred no more but before I went to bed to make sure of the place of Scripture I was to speak on[1] the next day; and rising in the morning, I had four or five hours myself alone, either in ane chamber or in the fields. After that we went to church, and then dyned, and then rode some four or six myles, more or less, to ane other paroch. Sometimes there would be four or five communions in severall parishes in the three moneths time. I esteemed these visits in Ireland the far best tyme of all the while I was in Galloway. After the year 1647 or 1648, the Generall Assembly sent no more any[2] visits to Ireland, because by that time several godly and able ministers were settled in severall parts of the North of Ireland.

Dureing my abode in Stranrawer, the neighbouring ministers with whom I keeped most society, and by whose counsell and company I profited most, were my brother, M'Clellan at Kirkcudbright, Mr Robert Hamilton at Ballantree, Mr George Hutcheson at Calmonell; and in the Presbytery of Stranrawer, Mr Alexander Turnbull at Kirkmaden, Mr John Dick at Inch, and Mr George Dick at Glenluce; and in the Presbytrie of Wigton, Mr Andrew Lauder at Whythorn, and Mr John Park at Mochrum, who also succeeded at Stranrawer. With all these I have been at their communions, and most of them have been at communions with us at Stranrawer.

Period V.

The fifth period of my life I reckon from the time I was settled in the ministrie at Ancrum to this present, February 1666.

In summer 1648, I had ane call from the paroch of Ancrum, and ane invitation from the Presbytery of Jedburgh, and a presentation from the Earle of Lothian, the patron; and, by act of the Generall

[1] "On which I was to speak." [2] "For."

Assembly that year, was transported thither. I went thither, and was received by the presbytery. I the rather inclined, because I found they were generally[1] landwart simple people, who for sometime before had not had so much of the gospell as to despise it. In the harvest following, I transported my family thither. I found the transporting very troublesome, being above one hundred myles, and bad way, and ane numerous family,[2] six children,[3] one of them sucking the breast, four or five servants, and some baggage[4] of books and houshold furniture; yet the Lord brought us all safe[5] thither. I dwelt a year or two in ane house of the Earle of Lothian's till ane house was built for me. The people were tractable, but very ignorant, and some of them loose in their carriage; and it was ane long time before any competent number of them was brought to such a condition as we might adventure to celebrate the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. But within some time, some of them began to lay religion to heart.

In the year 1649, the Parliament of Scotland, and the Church also, had sent commissioners to treat with the king at the Hague for security to religion and the liberties of the countrey, before his admission to the exercise of the government. These had returned without satisfaction, yet the Parliament sent again in the summer[6] 1650 the Earle of Castles, the Earle of Lothian, Alexander Brodie of that Ilk, one of the Lords of Session, Mr George Winram of Liberton, ane other of the Lords of Session, Mr[7] John Smith,[8] Alexander Japhray, to prosecute the foresaid treaty with the king at Breda. The Commission of the Church[9] chose Mr James Wood and me, and after that also by my Lord Castles' procurement Mr George Hutcheson; to us was joyned Cassills and Brodie as ruleing elders, that in name of the Church we should present and prosecute their desyres; and because much depended upon that treaty, I will, out of my own private observations, more fully set doun the same.

[1] "A." [2] "Having." [3] "And." [4] "Loggage."
[5] "Safely." [6] "The year." [7] "Sir." [8] "And."
[9] "Kirk."

ACCOUNT OF THE TREATY WITH THE KING AT BREDA.

When it was first laid on me to goe, I was most averse therefrom. My reasons were three. First, My own insufficiency, haveing ane naturall antipathy from publick imployment and state matters, and having some scruple that ministers medled but too much therein, and knowing my own unacquaintednes and inability in such things, and my softness of disposition, ready to condescend too easily to anything having any shew of reason, not being able to debate and[1] dispute any business, so that I feared I should be ane grief and shame to these that sent me, beside that I could not promply speak the Latine tongue, which was requisite among forreign divines. This first reason I expressed in the Commission of the Kirk. The other two, which weighed as much with me, I suppressed. The second was, when I considered the commissioners sent by the State, I was not willing to embarque in any bussiness with them: Cassills, Brodie, and Alexander Jaffray, I had no exception against; the other three I suspected would be more ready to condescend to ane agreement upon unsafe terms. Louthian I had found two years before in harvest 1648, when the rest rose against the engadgers returning home from England, that he was very ill pleased with their[2] riseing, and he was many wayes involved with the Marqueis of Argyle, who of ane long time had been very intire with William Murray and Sir Robert Murray, negotiators for the king, and who, it is thought, put him in hopes that the king might[3] marry his daughter. Libberton had been long with the king at Jersay, and brought the overture[4] of the treaty, and in all his discourses gave evidence of ane earnest desyre upon any terms to have the king brought home, wherin it is like he thought he would have ane chief share of the thanks. Sir John Smith had tampered with James Graham 1645, and was ane man of no great abilitie, and what ability he had I suspected would not

1 "Or." 2 "The." 3 "Would." 4 "Overtures."

be well employed. The third reason was, when I looked upon the whole bussiness, and the terms wherupon the king was to be admitted to his government, upon his bare subscriving or swearing some words without any evidence that it was done from the heart, I suspected it might prove ane designe for promoting ane malignant interest to the prejudice of the work of God, and that our nobles who had power in their hands, fearing, if matters went on as formerly, that they might be levelled; and knowing that many in the kingdome would be willing to receive the king upon any terms, whom possibly the malignants might bring home without them, and knowing that after so many backslidings the well-affected were but few, and many of them simple, and all of them desyreous to give the king all his due, religion and liberty being secured, upon some such considerations thought it their safest [way] to have the king: not looking much what might be the consequences. For these reasons, I was fully resolved to have gone home, and taken my hazard of any censure of the kirk for my disobedience, especially when I perceived that sundry[1] well-affected, whose judgement I reverenced, had great fears of the issue[2] of the treaty. But according as my nature is blunt and ready to yield, chiefly to those whom I knew both pious and wise, Mr David Dicksone, Mr James Guthrie, Mr Patrick Gillespie, after some whiles dealing, prevailed with me to goe. One word I foolishly spoke then to them, which many a time thereafter met me, That ere I condescended to goe, and to have an hand in the consequences that I apprehended would follow, I would choose rather to condescend, if it were the Lord's will, to be drouned in the waters by the way.

That very day[3] we landed in Camphire, Loudon[4] and Liberton proponed that letters might be write to the Hague by the commissioners to Duke Hamilton and the Earle of Lauderdale, and some other malignants, to find themselves at Breda to help forward the treatie. This was not agreed to; but the proponing of it was no

[1] "Observed that severall." [2] "Feared the issue." [3] "That."
[4] "Lothian."

good presage of ane blessing, and shewed what men some were minded to make use of. But howsoever all these came. When we were come to Bredah, it was put on my Lord Cassills to make some speech to the king at our first receiving, and on me to make ane other speech after him in name of the Church. This speech I did prepare, wherin were some things a litle free, such as I thought became ane minister to speak concerning the king himself and his father's house, and the counsells and wayes he had followed. This speech I did communicat, first to the commissioners of the Church, after to those of the State; but it was once and again so altered with delations and additions, that it was nothing like itself. Everything that was thought harsh behooved to be delate, and some things added such as would be thought most savorie in the entry of the treaty to the king and the court. I thought it was not my part to stand peremptory for ane paper of my own drawing, and they told me that I was not to show my own minde, but theirs. Thus I agreed to all. So dangerous it is for ane man of [a] simple disposition to be yoked to[1] these who by witt, authority, and boldness, can overmaster them.[2]

When we began first to keep any meetings, the commissioners of the State did choose Cassills to be president, and after continued him dureing all the time. Some of us at first thought this a benefite to have him president of whom we had most confidence; but we did find that thereafter[3] ane disadvantage; for ordinarly Lothian, Liberton, and Sir John Smith, agreed in one voice, and that sundry times such as some of us were not well satisfied with. Now there were to be of ane contrary opinion only Mr Brodie and Alexander Jaffray; and thus three being against two, carried it, the president not having place to give his voice[4] but where there is ane equality. Some of our number urged once that the treaty might[5] be by word of mouth, and not by papers; but that motion was rejected. The drawing up of the papers[6] to be presented to the king was committed by those of the State to Mr Brodie, and

1 "With." 2 "Him." 3 "Find it afterwards." 4 "Vote."
5 "Should." 6 "Papers."

by those of the Church to Mr James Wood, wherin this oversight was committed in the very first papers, that the words and purpose of the instructions were not fully keeped, but both in the order and matter somewhat was altered or left out by them that drew them up, and more thereafter was altered upon debate in the meetings; whether for exornation of the language, or not to seem to be tyed to words and order of them, or to make things smooth in the beginning, or if there were any design in some that debated the alterations that something[1] might not be mentioned at first, which they haveing sounded the mind of the court, found would not easily be granted; but we found it did harm thereafter, when those of the court alleadged we behooved to rest satisfied with that which was in our first papers.

We had access to the king upon Tuesday, yet no papers of the treaty were delivered to him till the Munday following, which was some neglect of diligence, the Parliament having limited the treaty to thirty dayes, and only granting ten dayes more in caice it were perceived that there were appearance of an good agreement at these forty dayes' end. And after delivering of the[2] first papers, Lothian, Liberton, and Sir John Smith, went to[3] Antwerp and Brussells, and stayed some eight or ten dayes, so that when the king had given us his first papers the Saturnday following, no return could be made to him, through the absence of them, till the Wedensday or Thursday of the next week.

We found the king of an courteous and tractable like disposition, which made some of us suspect that if all of our number had dealt alike earnestly, especially Lothian and Liberton, who most frequently and privatly resorted to court, but most of all Liberton, that the king at the first had granted all our desyres fully. The reason we thus suspected was, because we found these things the king stuck most at, those of our number in debate at our meetings argued that he should not be so much pressed in them; alleadging frequently that Commissioners had alwayes power to manage

[1] "Some things." [2] "These." [3] "See."

their instructions, and that we ought not for such things to break off the treaty, and undoe the king and his bussines.

None of us three ministers ever went to the king alone, but oftest altogether, or at least two of us. We went but seldom; but whenever we went, so soon as the king knew, we had access and liberty to stay and speak so long as we pleased. We oft urged that if the king had any scruples against the Covenant, or any of the parts of the uniformity or desyres of the treaty, that he would impart them to us; but he never proponed any such thing.

One tyme, I[1] lyeing of the megrim, the other two having been at him, reported to me, that having entered in some kinde of dispute with him about episcopacy and ceremonies, they found he had been poisoned in his principles by those that had been with him, denying [that] the Scripture was ane perfect rule in those things contraverted, and enquireing how people knew that it was the word of God, but by the testimony of the Church. All the while of the treaty at Breda, he continued the use of the Service Book and of his chaiplans,[2] and many nights he was balling and danceing till near day. At the beginning of the treaty, it was reported to us by Liberton, that ane gentleman had come to the king from Paris, being sent by his mother, desyring that by all means he should close with the Scots, otherwise she was resolved never to come out of that cloyster through the gate whereof she then spake to the gentleman. And all the while it was so looked upon that there were two factions at court, the one being the Queen's faction, was for ane close of the treatie, the other called Prince Rupert's, wherin was also the Queen of Bohem[ia] his mother, and James Graham, were supposed to be against the treaty. All these things made me alwayes suspect there would be no blessing on the treaty, and many a time Mr Hucheson and I, whose chambers joyned close one to another, would confess one to another, that we were glad when the treaty

[1] "Was." [2] "Chaiplaine."

was like to break off, and sad when there was appearance of closeing it. It was found therafter, that in the very time of the treaty, James Graham, by commission from the king, invaded Scotland with ane army, where being defaite, his commission was found,[1] himself brought to Edinburgh and hanged. It was an omission, that we who were Commissioners from the Church,[2] seldom ever mett in an meeting severally by ourselves for prosecuting of our instructions, but satisfied our selves with drawing up and giving in our papers severall from the State's papers, and with joyning with the meetings of the Commissioners of the State when they mett. I was unsatisfied with the whole way of going on of the treaty. For, 1*st*, It seemed rather like ane merchant's bargain of prigging somewhat higher or lower than ingenuous dealing, and so far as could be discerned, the king granted nothing but what in an sort he was compelled to, and which, if he had had his full freedom, he would not have willingly consented to, which possibly was rather the fault of those that were about him nor his own. 2*dly*, Not only the Prince of Orange and one Mr M'Dougall, who were employed by the king, were sometimes spoken with, but Lauderdale, who had done no good offices to Scotland before, whether brought in or coming of himself, yet he was present at some of our meetings and debates, and papers and resolutions were communicated sometimes both to him and to Duke Hamilton. 3*dly*, The king in his demands, the granting wherof he desyred to be[3] previous to all his concessions, required some things, which, although they were not directly granted, yet discovered in some sort his purpose and inclination, as that there should be ane union of all for promoving his interest, and although the demand did not mention the Irish rebells, and James Graham, yet if it had been granted, it would have included them. 4*thly*, Some of the king's demands, as that anent the engadgers, and that anent the ensuring the prosecuting of the king's interest in England, the commissioners, although not instructed to answer these, yet ad-

[1] "And." [2] "Kirk." [3] "Might be."

ventured to goe on a good length in giving assureance for them, and said for the first they had ane act of parliament for their warrant, although it wes replyed that not acts of parliament, but their instructions, were the bounding of their commission, and that same act of parliament did not fully warrant what they granted. *5thly*, In some debates when they were upon granting of [some] things which were not in their instructions, it was many a time alleadged that they had private instructions, yet at last when some desyred ane sight of them, it was confessed they had not any, only some words had been spoken by some prime men in some private conference. *6thly*, In the king's concessions, which by the parliament's instructions should have preceeded any invitation, some materiall things were left out; yet they proceeded to close the treaty and to invite, and some debated that the want of these things should not hinder the close, although therafter when the closed treaty was sent home, the parliament by their second instructions, which were no other but the renewing of the first, declared that they did not approve the treaty without these. *7thly*, When some urged that the parliament of Scotland would not find themselves obliedged to stand to the treaty, if things were agreed to besyde or beyond their instructions, it was replyed by some of the commissioners, that they had heads and estates to lose, and that the parliament might call them to ane account for what they did, but both the parliament and kingdom of Scotland would be bound to all which they had concluded in their names. All these things I was unsatisfied with, and in my own blunt way declared the same as I had occasion to speak, but had not the abilitie or hardiness to debate or argue any of these things.

There was no great haste made the first three or four weeks of the treaty; but when it came toward the fourtieth day, it was much urged by some of the commissioners, that by any means the treaty should end by agreement before that day were out, and when it came to the last day, and that the invitation to the king was drawn up, and [was] to be subscryved, they first enquired the opinion of us three ministers, because we could not have ane vote among them

who were commissioners of the State. When my opinion was asked, I told that as I conceived, although ane State or their commissioners should agree with ane king upon tearms disadvantageous to religion and liberty, a minister might weell shew[1] his minde; but if they went on, it was not ane minister's part to oppose the same, but submitt himself to the government, although not rightly constitute, and desyred them to doe according as they found themselves warranted in their commission and instructions. I am since convinced, that I ought to have dealt more freely, and shewed them [that] I thought their proceedings were not according to their instructions, and that the honest partie in Scotland would not be satisfied with them, and that, so far as I could discern, there was no appearance of ane blessing from God upon the treaty; but partly, I saw such ane torrent in carrying on that business, partly, I somewhat doubted[2] my own judgement, partly, my weakness of nature made me neglect that duty.

After this, Mr James Dalrymple, Secretary to the Commissioners, was sent home to Scotland with the closed treatie. I ought to have written home my sense of the whole bussiness, but partly, we were strictly forbidden by the commissioners to advertise any thing of the treaty, or write any thing of it; partly, I had observed[3] Mr James Dalrymple a litle too much forward for that same way of closeing of the treaty. Although great haste was made to closing of the[4] treaty, yet, after it was ended, we perceived no great haste of going to Scotland.

The Saturnday before the king left Breda to come to[5] Scotland, we got notice about three or four a'clock in the afternoon that he was[6] to communicate kneeling to-morrow after. We that were commissioners from the Church prepared ane paper, and presented it to him, and both by the paper and by speech, shewed the sin of so doing, and provocation against God to procure the blasting of all his designes, and what inconveniency it might bring on his bussiness and confirmation to all his enemies, and what scandall to

1 "Tell." 2 "Misdoubted." 3 "Found."
4 "To close the." 5 "To goe for." 6 "About."

such as were honest, and how it was against that which he had granted in his concessions, and [would] confirm some to think he were[1] but dallying with God and with us. We left him to think upon it till after supper; but when we went to him, we found him tenaciously resolute to continue his purpose. He said his father used allwayes to communicat at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday, and that he behooved to doe soe likewise, and that people would think strange of him if, having resolved to communicat, he should forbear it, and that he did it to procure ane blessing from God upon his intended voyage. We shewed him that indeed we feared the Lord should declare whether he approved that his way or not, and earnestly pressed he would forbear, seeing although the action were never[2] so lawfull, he might upon some considerations forbear it. But we could not prevaill; he did communicat kneeling, and beside some disorder committed by the chaplain, Bramble, who was once pretended Bishop of Doun, did give the blessing after the action. It was abundantly known to all the commissioners that most of all the malignants, and ill instruments about the Court, were intending for Scotland with the king; yet no effectual course was taken to debarr them, although it was one of the instructions to urge the same.

On the Saturnday therafter, when all the commissioners were abroad[3] except Cassills and Lothian, who were with the king at Unslodyke, the new letters and instructions from the Parliament and Commission of the Kirk [came,] wherin they declared their dissatisfaction with the treaty, and such other things to be obtained, and declared otherwayes the treaty to be void, and the persons' names set doun who should be[4] left in Holland. These came to the two Lords, and being read by them, and as some say, shown to Hamilton and Lauderdale, who were expressly by these instructions forbidden to come to Scotland, were sent aboard to us. How welcome these were to some of us is not easie to express; others, as Liberton, were not so well satisfied with them; but presently

1 "Was." 2 "Ever." 3 "Aboard." 4 "Were to be."

we took boat to goe ashoare, with resolution not to come aboard till we had obtained satisfaction to the Parliament. The wind did not suffer us to go ashoare at Tarhay, which was the nearest way to Unslodyke, but put us to Shaveling, where landing about midnight, and not being able to go in wagon to Tarhay, the sea being full, we sent two a foot to Tarhay to meet the Lords if they should come hither before we came at them, and to desyre them not to goe aboard till we came to them; for we were afraid that after these letters (although the winds were contrary) both the king and the Lords, and the malignants who should have stayed behind, would make haste to goe aboard before any more treaty should be. We ourselves behooved to goe about by the Hague, and rode all night, and coming to Unslodyke about break of day, or a little after, found that the king and all were gone. We followed so fast as we could dryve to Tarhay; but all were gone aboard. The two that we had sent mett the Lords, and spoke as we had desyred them, but they said Lothian would needs goe aboard with the king, and drew Cassills along with him. When we were standing amazed on the shoare, one Mr Webster of Amsterdam comes to go aboard, and warn the king that the Parliament of England had some twenty-two ships at sea to wait for him. He going aboard in a boat, Liberton, without more adoe, runs to the boat to goe aboard to the rest, and after him Sir John Smith upon his call in the same boat. Brodie, Alexander Jaffray, and we three ministers, stayed. Some of us may say we never had ane heavier day than that Sabbath was. After prayer together and apart, when we were consulting what to doe, Mr James Wood his opinion was to go aboard, saying, [1] it was a pity that the king and my Lord Cassills should be there and none to preach to them. Brodie and Alexander Jaffray said, it was to be[2] wished that they had stayed ashoare, but now as matters stood, it wes best to goe aboard and discharge their duty in the last instructions from the Parliament. Mr George Hucheson inclined to the same. For my part, I told I had no

[1] "That." [2] "To have been."

inclination, nor no light to goe aboard. I thought both in regard of the prophane malignant companie, and in regard how matters stood in the treaty, we were taking along the plague of God to Scotland, [and] I should not desyre to goe along, but would goe back to Rotterdam, and come with the first conveniency I could. Hereat Mr Hucheson said he would goe along with me to Rotterdam, and not let it be said that I was left alone in a strange land. I urged him, that seeing his light served him to goe aboard, he would not draw back from it for me. I had Edward Gillespie, who brought us the Parliament's letters, and John Don, and my brother, Andrew Stevensone, to goe along with me. He persisted that he would goe[1] with me, yet thereby my minde did not inclyne me to go aboard. By this time ane boat comes from the king's ship, and letters from the two Lords, to desire us, as we would not marr the bussiness of the king and kingdome, to come aboard. Yet for all this my mind was bent for Rotterdam. At last, Brody and Mr Huchesone proponed ane overture that I should only goe in the boat to the ship's side, and there the rest to come down to the boat, that we might speak ane little of our bussiness, and I take my leave of them, and[2] come ashoare again in the same boat. To this, although unwillingly, I agreed. When the boat was come to the ship's side, and the rest gone up, I stayed in the boat looking they should come down; but Cassills and Mr Hucheson came and called me up, saying, it would be unseemly for commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland, in sight of so many onlookers, to come to ane open boat to speak of[3] any bussines; I only should[4] come a little to the gunner-room and speak with them, and the boat should be stayed till I should goe[5] back. I went up, desyring[6] an young man that was with me to wait that the boat did not goe away; but within a little time he comes and tells me the boat was gone and under sail. Whether this was done of purpose, men making an mock at my peevishness and folly, as they thought it, or otherwise, I will not determine; but I looked on myself as in

1 "Along." 2 "Then." 3 "About."
4 "Should only." 5 "Till I came bak." 6 "And desired."

little other condition than ane prisoner. That night, when they were consulting what to doe in reference to their last instructions, Lothian and Liberton were of the minde that no application by papers should be made to the king anent these last late instructions till they were arrived in Scotland, saying, that if they did it, it would provock the king to take some other course, and not to goe to Scotland at all.

The next day, I not being well, and having but very ill accommodation in that ship wherin the king was, Mr Jaffray and I went to the Sun of Amsterdam, ane other of the three ships, and stayed there till Tuesday of the next week, at which time, having had the winds alwayes contrary, we came all to ane anchor at Heylighland,[1] in the mouth of the Elve;[2] at which time, Mr Jaffray and I being called aboard the king's ship, and consultation being had what to doe in reference to the new instructions, if it had not been that Sir John Smith, who used not before in his vote to differ from Lothian and Liberton, had given his vote for applications, there had none been made before we had come to Scotland. But he and Brodie and Jaffray being for application, it was carried by one vote, and so papers were prepared and given to the king, who by his next paper desyred to know whether or not the commissioners would stand to their first agreement, and give him assureance of honor, freedom, and safety in Scotland, as they had done before. When much debate too and again had been used for many dayes, and at last papers had been prepared both by[3] commissioners[4] of State and Church for exoneration, and in ane sort giving up the treatie, [and] when no appearance of satisfaction was, but rather the contrary, all of ane sudden, on the Friday before we came ashoare in Scotland, Liberton comes from the king, and tells the king was ready to swear and subscryve the Covenant. This was suspicious like to some of us, especially seeing some other things which were to have been[5] granted before that were not then agreed to, and that the Parliament in these[6] last instructions had not desyred the

[1] Heligoland. [2] Elbe. [3] "The." [4] "Both."
[5] "Which should have been." [6] "Theire."

king's subscryving and swearing the Covenant, but ane[1] obligation so to doe. But these other things were afterward granted that day; and because, ere we came out of Scotland, it had been desired that if the king could be moved to swear the Covenant in Holland, it should be so done, the commissioners resolved they would accept of his swearing and subscryving the same.

It was laid on me to preach the next Sabbath when he should swear it, and to read the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, and to take his oath; the which day also we came to ane anchor at the mouth of Spey. I would gladly have put it off, desyring it might be delayed till we were in Scotland, or that some of the other two ministers might preach; but all the rest pressed me most earnestly, urgeing what ane great scandal it would be, and how far honest men would be unsatisfied, if, the king offering to swear the Covenant, he should be rejected. According to my softness and silliness of disposition, I was moved to agree. On the Sabbath morning before we mett for sermon, some told me[2] the king was minded to speak some words when he sware the Covenant, that what he did should not import any infringeing of the lawes of the kingdome of England, because he said that way he behooved to prevent the stumbling of his English subjects, because in the declaration annexed to the Covenant which he was to swear he bound himself to confirm acts, bills,[3] ordinances of the Parliament of England, ratifying the Solemn League and Covenant; which acts or ordinances, they said, were expyred with the late king. I went to the rest of the commissioners and told them, and we all went to the king and told him we could not receive his oath if he added any one word to the words read, but would declare the oath no oath. He pressed much and long that he behooved to doe it, so that I began to be hopefull his swearing might be put off for that day. At last he said he would forbear to speak these words; yet I urged that seeing both he and we were in some heat and distempers[4] by that dispute, that his swearing

1 "His." 2 "That." 3 "Or." 4 "Distemper."

might be forborn till ane other day, but both he and the commissioners pressed that it should not be delayed. For the outward part of swearing and subscryving the Covenant, the king performed any thing that could have been required; but it seems to have been the guilt not of the commissioners only, but of the whole kingdome of the State, yea, and of the Church, who knew the terms wherupon the State was to admitt him to his government, yet[1] without any evidence of ane reall change in his heart, and without forsaking former principles, counsells, and company; yea when, as some say, letters found among James Graham's papers did evidence the contrary, yet they proceeded therupon to admitt him to the exercise of his government; wheras by the last instructions from the Parliament, which came to the commissioners' hands in Holland ere the king and[2] they came[3] aboard, ten or twelve persons expressly named they should not have come home, yet all these persons, except two or three who were not present, did come along to Scotland. Neither did the commissioners of the State make any application to the king by subscryved papers anent that article of their instructions till two dayes after he was landed in Scotland at the Bogue of Gight, at which time they were all in the countrey; and in this point did Cassills, to my observation, give some evidence of declyning; for from the very time that these last instructions came, he did alwayes declare himself unsatisfied that the Parliament should have controlled any thing of their proceedings in the treatie till they had been present to answer for themselves.

After we had landed, I drew behinde and left the king and court, neither did I see him again,[4] but one blink at Dundee as I was coming homeward. And after we were come to Edinburgh, the Generall Assembly being sitting, and Mr Hutchesone and I being desyred to make relation to the Assembly of the proceeding[5] of that treaty, we first communicated what we had drawn up to some of the chief ministers privatly,[6] and told them of the king's

1 "That."
2 "Or."
3 "Went."
4 "Any more."
5 "Proceedings."
6 "In private."

kneeling at the communion, and of the paper which we had given him therannent, and some of the rest of these things above mentioned. But they desired us to forbear the mentioning at the Assembly of that paper, or any[1] thing which might make the king or his way odious in the entry of his government, and we at their desire did forbear.

The while I was at Holland, my wife ryding by the milne of Nether-Ancrum, through the unskillfulness of the servant that rode before her, fell in the milne-dam, and was carried down the trough, till with her body she stopped the outer wheell then fast going. Providence so ordered that the wheell wanted one of the aus, (the out-sticking pieces of timber that keeps the water;) and just over against the wheel where it wanted that aw (a piece of board[2]) her body was drawn down, and so stopped the going of the milne,[3] and continued in that case, the water still falling on her, till an gentleman that saw, and was about half a quarter of a myle distant, came running, and caused the people go within the milne, and turn the outter wheel back, and so got her out, and carried her home. She was ill bruised, and in the third day had ane sore feaver; yet it pleased the Lord she recovered, and wrote to me to Holland, that she thought she was therin ane emblame of what our treaty was like to bring on the land.

When I took my leave of the king at Dundee, and being alone with him, I begged liberty to use some freedome which he granted. After I had spoke some things anent his carriage, I proponed that he saw the English army animated with many victories, was, for his sake, coming in upon Scotland, which at present was in a very low condition; and, therefore, that his Majestie, with his councill, might advise some way to divert that present chock, by some declaration, or some way wherin he needed not any way quite or weaken his right to the crown of England, but only to shew that for the present he was not to prosecute his title by the sword, but wait till their confusions were[4] evanished, they were in better case

[1] "Other."
[2] "That piece of board."
[3] "The milu's going."
[4] "Being."

to be governed, and till he were called by the people there, which I was confident a short while good government in Scotland would easily produce. He was not pleased to relish the motion, but said he hoped I would not wish him to sell his father's blood.

By that, and some other passages of my life, I gathered that either I was not called to meddle in any publick state matters, or that my meddling should have small success; for in the year 1654, when I was in London, I proponed to the Protector that he would take off the heavy fynes which he had laid on severalls in Scotland, which neither they were able to pay, and the payment would alienate their minds the more. He seemed to like the overture; but when he had spoken with his councill, many wherof were to have a share in these fynes, they went on in their purpose.

The Generall Assembly appointed some ministers, and among them me also, to wait upon the army, and the Committee of Estates that accompanyed the army. But the apprehension and fear of what ensued, made that I had no freedom to goe thither, but went home till we got the sad news of the defeat at Dumbar. After that I got also letters from them that were at Dumfreis who were upon the remonstrance, to come and joyn with them, but I had no clearnes to goe.

But some while therafter I went to Stirling to the Commission of the Kirk, and there, in ane great meeting, declared how sensible I was that, being overruled by some others, I had not in the Generall Assembly made ane perfect relation of the treaty. The winter after the defeat at Dumbar I stayed at home, and so did most of the ministers and gentry of the South, and so were in ane far better condition than those in some other parts, where the ministers and gentry went to the north side of Forth; for the English army destroyed almost all that they[1] left. Sometime some of the English quartered at my house, but neither many nor long; but while they stayed, I neither eat nor drank with any of them, nor hardly spoke with them, nor never went for any bussiness to any of their

[1] "Had."

officers. Yea, when Generall Cromwell wrote for me to come to Edinburgh to come[1] and speak with him, I excused myself. That winter the unhappie bussiness fell out about the publick resolutions. My light carried me to joyn with them that protested against the resolutions and the Assemblies that followed therafter, and I was present at the first meeting of some of the protesters in the West, at Kilmarnock, and therafter at severall other meetings. But indeed I was not satisfied in my minde that the protesters keeped so many meetings, so numerous, and of so long continuance, which I thought made the division wyder and the more conspicuous than otherwayes it would have been, and therfore I stayed from many meetings. Some two or three years after the English had in a manner subdued the land, there began some reviveing of the work of God in the land in severall parts. Sundry were brought in by the ministry of the word, among which there were some also in the paroch of Ancrum and other parts of the South, in Teviotdale and Merss; communions were very lively, and many ran to them.[2] We had severall monethly meetings in these two shyres.

The ministers in that countrey with whom I keeped most correspondence were in Jedburgh Presbytery, where I lived, Mr James Ker, minister at Abbatrule, Mr John Scot at Oxnom, and his son-in-law, Mr John Scot at Hawick. In other presbytries, Mr James Guthrie at Lauther, who therafter went to Stirling, Mr Thomas Donaldsone at Smelhome, Mr John Veitch at Westruther, Mr James Kirkton at Merton, Mr William Eliot at Yearow, Mr John Somerveill at Ednam, Mr Samuel Row at Spreuston, Mr Edward Jamisone at Swinton, Mr Daniel Douglas at Hiltoun, Mr James Tweedie at Foulden, Mr Thomas Ramsay at Mordington, and Mr Luke Ogle at Berwick. The gentlemen of that countrey with whom I conversed most were, Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead, Sir William Scott of Harden, Sir Gideon Scott of Heychester, Sir Walter Riddell of that Ilk, and his son; Sir Archibald Douglas of Cavers, and his son; Walter Pringle of Greenknow, George

1 "Wrote to me from Edinburgh to come."

2 "Much run unto."

Pringle of Towwoodlie, Alexander Pringle of Whytebank. All these, and their ladies also, as also the Ladie Stobs, the Lady Newton, and Mrs Eliot of Craigend, I looked upon as well-affected persons, and have been oft well refreshed at exercises in their houses, and at communions, where some of them had interest, and at communions with severall of the ministers before mentioned, all within the province of Merss and Teviotdale; and without the province, at Edinburgh, Borthwick, Stow, Ormestoun, Whytekirk, and Innerweek. A motion being made in publick at ane communion, anent Christians honouring God with their substance, these gentlemen above named, together with most of the ministers before mentioned, and some few other professors, agreed among themselves, and subscryved to a certain proportion yearly, which came in all to L.50 sterling a year, and was employed only upon distressed Christians, and breeding of hopefull youths in learning.

In the summer 1654, Mr Patrick Gillespie, Mr John Menzies, and I, were called by letters from the Protector to come to London. I went, because he had the present power over the land, and I thought there might be some hope we might procure some good to Scotland; and I went the rather because at the[1] time the mosstroupers were in the night-time seeking for me at my house, and I was like not to be long in safety. But being at London, I found no great satisfaction, and therefore I left the other two there and came home.

After that, the parish of Killinshie, in Ireland, sent ane commissioner once and again, with ane call to me to return to them. If I could have obtained ane fair looseing, my minde inclyned somewhat to have gone, because of the present distractions in Scotland, and because I thought Ireland had more need and more appearance of successe. But many a time, both before and after, I found that things[2] I inclyned to were disappointed, and fell better out another way. The Synod of Merss and Teviotdale refused to loose me, and some five or six ministers in other parts on whose

1 "That." 2 "That."

judgement I relyed, much disswaded me; only they advised[1] I should first make ane visit to Ireland. Therfore, in summer 1656, I went over, and our friends in Teviotdale put themselves to the trouble of sending Collonel Ker, and Mr John Scot of Oxnam, along with me, to see the case of Ireland. When I came, I could not get preached at Killinshie any wayes as in former tymes, and that I took as ane declaration of the Lord's minde, that I should not goe to settle there. Yea, I did not find above two or three families, nor above ten or twelve persons, that had been in that paroch when I was there; so great ane change had the Rebellion and devastation brought, that all almost were new inhabitants. I stayed some nine or ten weeks in Ireland, and visited and preached at severall parts, and was at some communions, and was at ane great meeting of their presbytrie in the North, which was more like an synod, where were some thirty or thirty-six ministers, but ruleing elders from sixty or eighty paroches, and that presbytrie was divided to[2] three committees, that mett apart in three severall[3] places of the countrey. One of the committees had some twenty or twenty-four vacant parishes, which they supplyed, sending two or three ministers at once to visit for two or three moneths, and after that[4] others by turns. The chief of these ministers that I was acquainted with were, Mr John Greg[5] at Newton, Mr Andrew Stewart at Dunachadie, Mr Gilbert Ramsay at Bangour, Mr David Buttle at Ballemenoch, Mr John[6] Gordon at Cumber, Mr William Ritchison at Killileah, Mr Andrew M'Cormick at Machrallie, Mr John Drysdaill at Portferrie, Mr Thomas Peebles at Dondonald, Mr Anthonie Kennedie at Templepatrick, Mr Thomas Crauford at Donagor, Mr John Douglass at Bread, Mr James Ker at Bellimony, Mr Jeremiah Aquin at ———, Mr Gabriel Cornwell at ———, Mr William Semple at Kilkennie, Mr Hugh Cunninghame at Ry, Mr William Moorcroft at Newton-Stewart. Afterward, some more ministers were planted in the north of Ireland, so that in all they were above[7] sixty, and Killinshie was well provided with Mr

1 "That." 2 "In." 3 "Sundry." 4 "These."
5 "Minister." 6 "James." 7 "About.'

Michael Bruce. As I came home, I stayed some few dayes to see friends in Galloway, amongst whom I had dwelt before, and I was at an communion at Stranrawer, and ane other at Air, before I came home. Durcing my abode in Ireland, being occasionally at Dublin, the councill there urged me to accept ane charge in Dublin, and offered L.200 sterling ane year; but that was to me no temptation, seeing I was not loosed from Ancrum; and if I had been, I was resolved to settle rather at Killinshie, among the Scots in the North, than any where else.

When, in the summer 1660, the word came of the king's being called home, I clearly foresaw there would be ane overturning of the whole work of reformation, and ane tryall to all that would adhere therto. In the year 1662, after that the parliament and councill had, by proclamation, ordered all ministers, who had come in since 1649, and had not kept their holy day of the 29th of May, either to acknowledge the prelats or remove, I might weell foresee ane storme was coming. At the last communion we had at Ancrum, on the 12th of October, and which was more frequent than any before, after sermon on the Munday, it pleased the Lord I got my mouth opened in ane reasonable long discourse, anent the grounds and encouragement to suffering for the present controversies of the kingdome of Christ, in appointing the government of his house,[1] and in ane manner took my leave, although I knew nothing what was then in hand, and followed shortly after. But on the 20th of November, I got letters from some friends in Edinburgh, that on the 18th of the[2] moneth, the councill had ordered some twelve or sixteen ministers to be brought before them, wherof I was one. I went presently to Edinburgh, and keeped myself closs for some dayes, till I should in ane privat way search and get some notice what they were minded[3] to doe; for if they should only proceed to banishment, as they had the year before done to Mr M'Ward and Mr Simsone, I resolved to appear, although the citation had not come to me; but if I had found they were on such ane design as

[1] "Appointing governours for his own house."
[2] "That."
[3] "What they intended."

against Mr Guthrie, that my life was in danger,[1] I was minded to lurk and not appear, seeing I was not cited nor apprehended. But finding their sentence would be only banishment, and Mr Traill having got that sentence only on the 9th of December, I did, on the 11th of December, being called before the councill, compear. I have in ane other paper (subjoined hereto[2]) set down what past particularly[3] when I was before the councill. The sum of all came to this: they required me to subscryve the oath which they called the Oath of Alleadgeance, wherin the king was to be acknowledged supream governour over all persons, and in all causes, both civill and ecclesiasticall. This I know was contrived in so generall, ambiguous, and comprehensive terms, that it might import receding from the covenant for reformation, and the bringing in of the bishops. And the summer before, when some ministers of the West had given in their sense that they would acknowledge the king supream civill governour, even in ecclesiastick matters, that sense was rejected. Therefore, I refused to take that oath. They desyred to know if I would take some time to advise anent the matter, as some who had been before them had done. This I thought would import that I was not fully clear nor resolved in the matter, and[4] render both myself open to many temptations, and[5] offend and weaken many others. Therfore, I told[6] I needed not take tyme, seeing I was abundantly clear that I could not lawfully take that oath. This made them[7] sharper against me. They pronunced the sentence of banishment, that I should within forty-eight hours depart out of Edinburgh, and goe to the north syde of Tay, and within two moneths depart off[8] all the king's dominions. The while I was in the outter-house before the councill-house door, being removed till the councill advised anent my sentence, there being present seve-

[1] "Were in hazard."

[2] The sermon above referred to, preached on the 13th of October, will also be found at a subsequent page.

[3] "Particularly what past."

[4] "Would."

[5] "Would."

[6] "That."

[7] "The."

[8] "Out of."

rall of my friends, and ane great throng of other people, one James Wallace, who once had been an professor, and therafter turned ane Antinomian, whose renuncing of Antinomianism I got from Mr William Struther of Edinburgh, and who yet therafter turned to the same opinion and practises, and therfore, when I was in Killinshie, in Ireland, he going through the countrey, came thither, and on an Sabbath, when we were at the communion, I perceived him sitting at the table, and sent ane elder to him, and desyred him to remove, because of his scandall; this man being one of the macers, began an discourse to ane other macer called Douglass, railing on these that would not in all things give obedience to the king. After I had been long silent, all I said at last was saying, The king's commandment was, Answer him not. This I perceived enraged him the more. After two dayes, having taken leave of my friends in Edinburgh, I went to Leith, and therafter, upon petition in regard of my age and infirmity, I obtained liberty to stay in Leith till I should remove. I petitioned but for ane few dayes to goe home and take my leave of my wife and children; but it was refused. I also petitioned once and again for ane copie of my sentence, but could not obtain it. Dureing my stay[1] in Leith, I was almost every day, through the whole day, visited by some friends out of Edinburgh, and other parts of the countrey. Ane roll of these that visited me I have set down in an other paper apart. In that time, through cold, I took ane pain and weakness in my loins, that for sundry dayes I was not able to step, or put on or off my cloathes: yet in ane moneth's time it departed. I had taken the like in summer 1661, in Edinburgh, that had keeped me longer, so as I was forced to be taken[2] home in ane sedan, and for severall[3] Sabbaths was carried to the church in a chair. At last, on the 9th of Aprile 1663, I came[4] aboard in old John Allan's ship, and in eight dayes came to Rotterdam. I was many a time well refreshed in Leith by conference and prayer with them that came to visit me, and had the

1 "Abode." 2 "Carried." 3 "Sundry." 4 "Went."

company of very many friends when I came aboard. When I came to Rotterdam, I found before me the rest of the banished ministers, to witt, Mr Robert Traill, minister at Edinburgh, Mr Jo. Nevay, at Newmilnes, Mr Robert M'Ward, at Glasgow, Mr James Simpson, at Airth, Mr John Brown, at Wamfray, and Mr James Gardner, at Saddle. Here I got frequent occasion of preaching in the Scots congregation. In December 1663, my wife came to me, and brought two of the children, the other five were left in Scotland. Hitherto, I can say, dureing my abode at Rotterdam, I have been in my body as free of pains and sickness, and in my mind as free of anxiety, as ever I have been all my life dureing so long a time, and makes accompt that my lot is a great deal easier than of many of those that are at home.

Now, when I look back on the whole, I find the Lord hath given me ane body not very strong, and yet not[1] weak. I have sometimes continued reasonable long ryding, both journey and post, without great wearying. I hardly remember that I have wearied in reading and[2] studying, although I have continued sometimes seven or eight houres without riseing. I have had my stomach as well after reading ane whole day, as after ryding or any other exercise. Since I began to preach, I hardly ever used any bodily recreation or sport, except walking, nor had I need of any other. There was only two recreations I was in danger to be taken with. The one, I had not the occasion of it but some five or six times, and that some forty years agoe. It was hunting on horseback; but I found it very bewitching. The other was singing in ane consort of musick, wherin I had some little skill, and took great delight; but it was[3] some thirty-six years since I used it. I had twice an hot feaver, once in the school of Stirling, and again in the year 1662[4] in Lanerk.

From fourteen years of age till forty, I was oft troubled with the magrim; from thirty years of age till fifty, I had severall fitts of the gravell, but hardly ever took it, except when some outward

1 "Very." 2 "Or." 3 "Is." 4 "1622."

evident cause brought it on, such as watching, fasting, wetness, or cold in my feet, or immoderate studie. I was of ane waterish constitution, and sometimes troubled with the tooth-ake. I thought the use of tobacco helped me. Twice, through cold, I had such ane pain in the lower part in my back, as I could hardly stirr; once in Edinburgh, and again in Leith. I was alwayes short-sighted, and could not discern well any thing or person afar off; but hitherto have found no need of spectacles, and can read as long on small print, and with as little light, and[1] wearying, as almost any other. My inclination and disposition was generally softly, timorous, averse from debaits, rather given to laziness then rashness, too easie to be wrought upon. I cannot say what Luther affirmed of himself concerning covetousness; but I may say I have been less troubled with covetousness and cares nor many other ills. I rather inclined to solitariness than company. I was much troubled with wandering of minde and idle thoughts. For outward things, I never was rich, and I never was in want. I do not remember that ever I borrowed money but once in Ireland, some five or six lb. sterling, [and] I got it shortly payed. I choosed rather to want sundry things then to be in debt. I never put any thing to the fore of any mentenance I had; yea, if it had not been for what I gote with my wife, and by the death of her brother, and some others of her friends, I could hardly have maintained my family by any stipend I had in all the three places I was in.

And for my spirituall condition, I cannot deny but sometimes, both in privat and publick, I have found the Lord work upon my heart, and give confirmations of his kindness and engadgements to service; but I doe not remember any particular time of conversion, or that I was much cast down or lift up. I doe remember one night in the Dean of Kilmarnock, having been most of the day before in company with some of the people of Stewartoun, who were under rare exercise in their minds,[2] I lay down in some

[1] "With as little."

[2] "Exercise of mind."

heaviness that I never had experience of any such thing. That night, in the midst of my sleep, there came upon me such a terror of the wrath of God, that if it had increased a small degree higher, or had continued a minut longer, I had been in as dreadfull a condition as ever living man was in; but it was instantly removed, and I thought it was said to me within my heart, See what ane fool thou art to desyre the thing thou couldest not endure; and that which I thought strange of was, that neither the horrour nor the ease out of it wakened me out of my sleep, but I sleeped till the morning; only the impression[1] remained fresh with me for an reasonable tyme therafter.

As concerning my gift of preaching, I never attained to any accuracie therin, and, through laziness, did not much endeavour it. I used ordinarly to write some few notes, and left the enlargement to the time of deliverie. I found that much studying did not so much help me in preaching, as the getting my heart brought to a spirituall disposition; yea, sometimes I thought the hunger of the hearers helped me more than my own preparation. Many a time I found that which was suggested to me in the delyverie, was more refreshfull to myself and to the hearers, than what I had premeditated. I was often much deserted and cast down in preaching, and sometimes tolerably assisted. I never preached ane sermon which I would be earnest to see again in wryte but two; the one was on ane Munday after the communion at Shotts, and the other on ane Munday after the communion at Holywood: and both these times I had spent the whole night before in conference and prayer with some Christians, without any more than ordinary preparation; otherwayes, my gift was rather suited to simple common people, than to learned and judicious auditors. I could hardly ever get my own sermon repeated, neither could I get the same sermon preached twice, although to other hearers. I thought it became tastless both to myself and others. I have sometymes, after some years, preached on the same

[1] "Of it."

text, but then I behoved to make use of new notes. Had I in a right manner behaved[1] and taken pains, it had been better for myself and others; but a lazie trusting to assistance in the meantime keeped me bare-handed all my dayes. I had an kind of coveting, when I got leasure and opportunity, to read much, and of different subjects, and I was oft challenged that my way of reading was like some men's lust after such an kind of play and recreation. I used to read much too fast, and so was somewhat[2] pleased in the time, but retained litle. My memory was somewhat waterish and weak; yet had I improved it, I might have had better use of it: for after I came from the Colledge, I did with no great difficultie attain to some tolerable insight in the Hebrew and Chaldee, and somewhat also of the Syriack. The Arabik[3] I did assay, but the vastness of it made me give it over. I got also so much of the French, the Italian, and after that of the Low Dutch, that I could make use of sundry of their books; and of the Spanish and High Dutch, that I could make use of their Bibles. It was once or twice laid on me by the Generall Assembly, to write the History of the Church of Scotland, since the late Reformation, 1638; but beside my inability for such an undertaking, and my lazie disposition, I could by no means procure the materialls fit for such ane work.

December 1669. Now since I came to Holland, and so had more leasure then before, when I was deviseing how to employ my time to some advantage, I remembered that I had spent some of my former years in the study of the Hebrew language, and had an great desyre that some means might be used that the knowledge of the only true God might be more plentifully had, both by ministers and professors, out of the original text, and for that cause, that in as small volumn as might be, the original text of the Bible might be printed in the one columne, and the severall vulgar translations thereof in the other column, in severall Bibles. Therfore, when I thought what Latine translation would be fitt to joyn

[1] "Believed." [2] "Something." [3] "Also."

with the original text for ane Latine Bible, I found that for the Old Testament, Junius' version varies much from the native phrase and order of the Hebrew, and Pagnin's version, as Montanus hath helped it, comes indeed nearer[1] the Hebrew; but if printed and read alone, in many places it yields almost no sense. Wherefore, I thought Pagnin's[2] translation would be fitter to put in ane columne over against the Hebrew; only that it were needfull that in severall places it might be amended out of later and more accurate translations. For this cause, much of my time I spent in Holland in comparing Pagnin's version with the original text, and with later translations, such as Munsterus, the Tigurin, Junius, Diadate's, the English, especially the Dutch, which is the latest and most accurate translation, being encouraged therin, and having the approbation of Voetius, Essenius, Nethenus, and Leusden; and so through the whole Old Testament wrote some emendations on Pagnin's translation. I also took much time in going through the English Bibles, and wrote a few diverse readings, and some explicatorie notes, and some reconciliations of contrary like places to have been inserted either among the marginall readings, or printed in two or three sheets in the end of the Bible. But the death of worthy John Graham, provost of Glasgow, who was ready to have born most of the charges of printing, stoped both these enterprises. Therefore, upon an motion from Doctor Leusden, that ane printer in Utricht would print ane Latin Bible, having for the Old Testament Pagnin's translation so amended, I sent Doctor Leusden all these papers, but as yet have not heard of any thing done.

Now, whether my constant sitting at the[3] studies, or one time upon bussiness walking long too and again through the town, without rendering urine, so as at last my urine was bloody, or any other former infirmity, or age creeping on, may have been the occasion, I cannot determine; but since the year 1667, and therafter, I have such ane constant pain in my bladder, especially when I

[1] "Near." [2] "Own." [3] "These."

walk, that I have been forced to take ane house nearer the church.[1] Yet neither I, nor such doctors as I consult with, can be certain whether it be ane stone, or only ane carnosity in my bladder. Also my hand shakes, so that sometimes I can hardly write with it, it shakes so.[2] Otherwise, I bless the Lord, I find hitherto no other great defect either of body or minde.[3]

[1] "Kirk." [2] "I can hardly writt any at all."

[3] Livingstone died at Rotterdam, the place of his exile, on the 9th of August 1672.

THE

SUBSTANCE OF A DISCOURSE

HAD

BY MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE,

TO HIS PAROCH AT ANCRUM,

FORESEEING HIS SEPARATION FROM IT, AS IT WAS TAKEN FROM HIS MOUTH BY THE PEN OF A HEARER, ON THE 13TH OF OCTOBER 1662, BEING THE MUNDAY AFTER THE COMMUNION,
AND AFTER ANOTHER MINISTER HAD PREACHED.

NOTE.

THE following productions of Livingstone are laid before the Members of the WODROW SOCIETY, either because they are referred to by himself in his *Life*, and are needed to complete it, or because they tend to throw light on his history and times. Some of them are already well known, but others, we believe, are now printed for the first time. The title-page of the "Discourse" will explain why it appears, in some places, so imperfect.

In some cases, the MSS. were with difficulty decyphered; and in others, the discrepancies discovered on collation were very considerable. The chief of these are given in Notes. The various readings from Mr M'CRIE'S MS. are marked, as in the *Life*, with quotation commas. Those from another MS. consulted are printed without commas; while a few have been admitted into the text, distinguished for the most part by the brackets which enclose them.

THE

SUBSTANCE OF A DISCOURSE

HAD

BY MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE,[1]

&c., &c.

IT may be thought it is not very fitting to detain you longer, and, for my part, I have little to say but what hath been said; yet because some apprehend that there is some probability that possibly this may be the last to us in this place, therefore we would speak somewhat in reference to it.

We would not know well how to take our leave of you, we would be sorry to doe it, if we knew how to doe otherwayes. It may be it is not so near; for it is only in his hand. But some of our brethren have gotten such peremptory discharges,[2] that they scarce have had leave to salute their people, if it could be gotten done aright. There are some who have bussiness in the world that have their testaments made before-hand. It may be we may meet again, and it may be not. What shall we say to you? We have been labouring (I speak for my own particular,[3] who am but

[1] Wodrow MSS. vol. xviii. 4to, No. 11, collated with Mr M'Crie's MS. and another in vol. xxvii. 4to, No. 17. See the *Life*, p. 189.

[2] Have already gotten peremptory warning.

[3] Part.

a poor creature, never worthy to have been made a minister; and if it had not been Himself that had urged and fastened it on me, it may be I never would have undertaken it; and I came not to this place I thought without somewhat of his own hand seen therin, and have been labouring but very weakly indeed) to declare unto you a message from God, and some have received it, and sum not, and I am even afraid severall[1] of this congregation have not received it, yet God grant they may receive it. The Lord that quickeneth the pickle that is sown in the ground, after the seedsman is gone, if he please may doe good to some of you, if so it come to passe that we be separate from you.[2]

I shall not take up your time with reading any place. If I had, I would have read that place of Scripture in the 10th of Matthew, and 32d verse,—Christ saith, "Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven; but whosoever will deny me before men, him will I deny before my Father."

Christianity is nothing else now but what you have heard before, but it may be you have not taken up Christianity aright. I shall say but a few words, and pray, and so dismiss you. There are four pillars, one may think, of Christianity: 1. A man believeth with the heart; and that brings in another pillar, Righteousness; and a third is, man confesseth with his mouth; and that brings on a fourth, which accomplishes all, Salvation.

There are two main wayes how Satan prevaills with poor creatures. He allures them, and he terrifies them. There are the lusts of the flesh, and the love of the world and of honour. These have a kind of enticeing faculty. And then he hath another engine toward those that will not be so much moved by the former, and that is, he bends up terrors upon them, and makes them afraid; and therefore that is the word going before the word that I have cited. "Fear them not, ye are of more value than many sparrows." Now for a remedy against this fear, the fear of the

[1] I am afraid even severall.

[2] That we should be separate one from another.

flesh, and the fear of sufferings,—Jesus Christ holds forth that it may be a man will not get much in this life, yet in another place he makes them sure of ane hundred-fold in this life; but he insisteth upon this, The man that confesseth him, (he hath to doe but with men like himself,) it is before men—Jesus Christ shall avow and confess that man (in another kind of ane assembly) before his Father. And, on the other hand, because many are ready to find out strange wayes to save themselves, their means, their life, (these have been a great snare to many,) he propons very sharply,—The man that denyes me, saith he, before men, I will turn my back upon him, and deny him before my Father.

This is the most ticklish point in all divinity. Lawyers have their points of high treason.[1] Physicians have their poysonous things dangerous to handle. Now, what is the most dangerous thing in all divinity, the rock that many have beaten out their brains upon? It is even this, Satan hath wiled them, entised them to deny Christ Jesus. It may be in reference to the time we live in, some think if it were Christ Jesus, if it were any fundamentall point, we would stand for it life and estate, and all that we have. But it is thought that some things that Christians stand upon are but fancies, and nice scrupulosities, and if there be any thing in them, it is but a small matter. Shall a man venture his condition here and hereafter upon such and such a small thing? Indeed, if they be none of Christ's small things, let them goe; but if it be one of his, will ye call that a small thing? His small things are very great things; and what if this be warranted and proven to you, that there was never a tryall since the beginning of the world, but in the while[2] it was a tryall, it was a small thing. The word was very clear, and it is very clear still. But I cannot go through the things that have been contraverted, as the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ and his humane nature; the union and distinction of the two natures in him, and his offices, his propheticall and his priestly office; and it hath been the judgement of many of his

[1] Otherwise, If lawiers have a poynt of hie treason, O that is a dangerous poynt to meddle with.

[2] "Time."

worthy servants, especially in these dayes, when the kingly and royall office of Jesus Christ is called in question.[1]

Now this is a small thing, you will say; it is but a matter of discipline and government, a matter anent what offices should be in the house of the Lord,—whether may we acknowledge such a lordly dominion, yea or not? A gardiner is appointed to keep his master's ground. Then[2] cometh one, and saith, I shall not meddle with your fruit-trees, your flowers, nor your herbs. I will but only cast down your walls, and cut up your hedges, and that is but a small thing. Is it so, (saith the other,) you will even undoe all in so doing; for the wild beasts and boars of the forests will come in? Our blessed Lord Jesus was of another minde when he said, the servant that was faithfull to me (it was faithfull in a little) I will make him ruler over much. If it be a small thing, the more that man testifies respect to his master. There's a tennant,—his neighbour begins and takes a butt, or half a ridge, and sayes it is a very small thing. Is it soe? What will his master say to him,—should you have suffered the other to have changed[3] the marchstone? I appointed you to doe[4] soe and so, and to tell me of my harm. Master, sayes he, it was but a small thing, and you have ground enough besides. Will any nobleman or master take that well off his hand? Satan shapes[5] a tryall, puts[6] it to such ane frame, he can draw it to a small point, and set it (as ye use to say) *in aciem novaculi*, like ane razor's edge, that although there seem little between the two, the one side is a denying of Christ, and the other a confessing of him. [Nahasse might have said, I will thrust out your ryt eye, you will see weell enough with the left, (1 Sam. xi.;) what great matter the men of Jabesh-gilead to want their ryt eyes? Such a part of their priviledge, it is trew, Christians dow not go to controll alwayes in such a way, but they will tak from them such

[1] And many of the worthy servants of the Lord, it hes beene their judgment in these dayes especially, the kingly and royall office of Jesus Christ is called in question.

[2] "There." [3] "Take away." [4] "To have done."

[5] Can shape. [6] He can put.

a part of their patrimony and liberty, and they will say this is but a small thing.[1]]

'' It may be you that are the people think the ministers in Scotland too peremptory in these dayes, and think,—should ye not have more respect to us that are your people? May you not come some length that you and we may abide together; may you not doe so? It seems you care little for us when you will not goe so little a length,—why but it may be done? The Apostle saith, (and some may make use of the word,) the Lord knows whether or not we have love to you, and could desyre to doe any thing that lay in our power for your welfare, and, it may be, are as sensible as some of yourselves what your condition will be when you and we are seperate. But I give you this parable. A man gets his master's flock to keep, and gets such instructions,—Abide by your flock, and goe not to acknowledge any judicator beyond the border, if any call you to such a court. He gets summonds to a forreign barron's court, and they say, if you refuse to goe they will drive the flock and spoil your master's goods. Sayes the man, I am in a strait; I will betray my master's liberty if I goe, and the flock may be abused if I goe not. But my Master hath given me assureance his flock shall not want: nothing shall ail them: he hath given them (as ye say) in steelbow: all the elect he will make answer for them: it shall not be skin and birn, but a fair and comely flock weell washen in his own blood. The Father's justice shall not find spot or wrinkle in any of them. Now they will have his servants goe; will ye but doe this, goe and book yourselves in that court, although an unlawfull court and an unlawfull office; but rather then expose your master's flock to hazard, doe so. Nay, saith he, my master hath other servants to put to his flock, and he hath given me that assureance, doe as I will, and others as they will, let them drive and poynd, and cause them to stand, as they say, till their chafts fall, my Master hath assured me

[1] The lines enclosed in brackets are not in the MS. from which this edition is taken, nor in Mr M'Crie's MS. They are supplied from MS. vol. xxvii. in Adv. Lib.

they shall never dye for want,—then I will give them their hazard; and so he testifies love to his Master, and to the flock he hath charge of.

But what say ye of the civill magistrate? A great common place,—by the grace of God it shall be ours as well as theirs.[1] The magistrate will have such things done in such a way and time.[2] Now truely I may say, in behalf of all the servants of Jesus Christ, we shall be ready, when occasion offers, to lay down our heads under his feet, and doe all the honour and respect that is possible and requisite. But then, why in such a particular may ye not acknowledge the magistrate? Take another parable. There is ane ambassador sent a message to such a State on thir terms:—You shall be subject to the State in all your deportment, and carry yourself uprightly and honestly, and you are to negotiat there according to the instructions given you.[3] The Prince comes to propound somewhat. The man saith, With your leave and tollerance, I will advise with my instructions I have from my Master, I shall not wrong you at all. He advises with his instructions, and finds he may by no means doe it.[4] Then, sayes the Prince, You shall be used so and soe. He answers, At your pleasure. But may you not doe soe and so? I may not, sayes he, and you shall see my commission; it is not privat, but publick things known and written, and may be read by all. You shall acknowledge such an office in the house of God. I cannot find it in all his word. I find in the 20th of Matthew a word in answer to that question:—"The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion, but it shall not be so among you." I find in Titus i. 5, the Apostle writes of elders to be appointed, and in the very next verse save one, I find him call them by the word called Bishops. I cannot

[1] It shall be our common place as well as others.

[2] In such a way at such a time.

[3] And ye have such instructions from the Prince that sent zow to negotiate there.

[4] And advyse with his commissioun that sent me, and he finds out his instructiouns he may not nor dar not do it.

goe beyond that. I find no lordly dominion appointed in the house of God. I find a place, 1 Cor. viii., he speaks of "lords many, and gods many," but to us there is but one Lord. We cannot have more lords in the house of God. Kings and princes we shall give their due. We acknowledge they have a power civill over all men anent ecclesiasticall things, but it is not a spiritual power; it is a limited power: and the word is clear that Jesus Christ hath appointed the officers and governors of his house. Would any prince take it well if another would[1] come and say, You have such officers as chamberlains and constables, but I will have such and such other officers to be in your house? Now truely a master of a privat family would not take it well that another should come and appoint him servants.[2] Some think that it is a great strengthening of civill powers. Truely dominion in kirkmen hath been the greatest enemy ever the civil power had. And they will call it a maintaining of a band of union. Nay, if you will goe upon these terms you cannot avoid a Pope. I could never, for my own part, find ane argument in publick or privat for such dominion, but the same argument shall make as great strength to sett up the Pope.

But you will say, May not a man be silent at least, and what need him go hazard himself and his ministrie, let be his family and all things else, by speaking some things that he had better forbear? What needs him doe soe? Faith and repentance, let him preach these. Truely, we think that weell; faith and repentance we think very comprehensive dutics; and I confess, I never delight to hear a man that the most part of all his preaching is that we call on the publick,[3] and to meddle with State matters. But there are times and seasons wherin a man's silence may bring a curse upon his

[1] "Should."

[2] Chamberlands, and constables, and so. Now, sayes he, I will have such another officer that the king never named. Now truely, even a magistrate of a privat famillie would not suffer that. I would have such ane officer, sayes he; I will do to my mynd as I sall desyre myself.

[3] The most part of all his preaching to be that what ye call publick bussinesses.

head. Take this comparison.[1] There is a besieged town, and there is a watchman appointed with a captain and a guard at the West Port. Now he hath commission from the Prince or State to sound the trumpet whenever he perceives any danger; just as in the third and thirty-third chapter of Ezekiel, and that place in Nehemiah, "he that sounded [the trumpet] was beside me." Weel, he seeth the enemy coming on,—he doth like a wise man, how? He marches his men all to the East Port, which is the far stronger, and hath a great rampier, and there he stands where there is none to oppose him; he is a sicker man: he thinks[2] he will only preach against Poprie, and not make[3] with other controversies; and it may be if Popery come along, (as indeed we have great ground[4] to fear it will be the next tryall,) he will preach you good moral doctrines,[5] love to God and love to your neighbour. Now should a man be silent that way, how shall he look for a blyth sight of Christ[6] on his death-bed, when his Master shall say, Ha, Sir, I know you well enough; you spake but never in a mister; you spoke, as they say, when none speired at you; you were stout then; but when my cause came in hand, when you might have done good service, to have born up my banner when it was like to fall, you would not; therefore, now get you gone.

But you will say, Many as good and better have done so and soe. I answer, The Word of God is written and compleat, and men's practises are not to be rules to us; and good men have slidden in some things, and it may be, few of Christ's witnesses but sometime or other they have slidden.[7] Is it strange, that a man may goe wrong, and afterwards get repentance? you may follow that man's example in that wrong, and never get repentance. This is a very sad thing. But why may not men goe some length, less or more, with usurpers in civill things? Doe not men take their benefits in things due to them by the law of God and

[1] Will you have yet a parable. [2] Ye think. [3] "Medle."
[4] "Cause." [5] "Doctrin." [6] From Jesus Christ.
[7] And, it may be, never a witnes of Jesus Christ but hes one time or other slidden.

man? will they not some way acknowledge usurpers? and why not usurpers in spirituall things?[1] Truely, the case holds not the same. Sundry sorts of governments are acknowledged by all in commonwealths; but our Lord Jesus Christ hath not left the government[2] of his house to be changed by humane witt as they please. It is a strong tye we are under. We[3] know well what the Lord was doing when he engadged these three dominions in covenant with himself, what tryalls he would bring out of it, and what glorious outgates, I say again, and what glorious outgates, and what a lasting work of glory for us and our posteritie would come out of it. And it is a sad thing that Satan, by any instrument he pleases, for fear of a few dayes' life, and men's outward means, prevaileth so far with them,[4] as when he saith, Come, give me your religion [and your soul,] your conscience, your bonds and covenants to the living God, and I shall cast you loose as to religion, men should doe soe. Lord save us from this!

But you will say then, What shall we doe? It is true, we are appointed in some sort to be seers and guides. Truely, I dare[5] not answer that question; there are so many things into it, because we know not what shall be the particular tryalls of Christians. I have no will to frighten you; Lord forbid you be discouraged. He were ane unhappy commander, that when he were leading on his people, and venturing his own life and their lives, would then aggredge the forces of his enemies.[6] But it may be, (brethren and sisters,) that you have somewhat to goe through, that ye wot not yet what it will be; you have possibly a very sad strait to goe through. I use this comparison unto you: A man brings his flock to such a foord, and he must have [them] through. Now, it is safe enough, and no hazard in it; but the poor sheep, oh! as they start aback, and have no will to step in, but strive not to be foremost to weet their feet; and yet he[7] calling and wearing one way or other, some steps in, and so all follow, and win[8] safely through

[1] Spirituall usurpers as weill as civill.
[2] Ordering.
[3] "None."
[4] "Men."
[5] "Dow."
[6] The enemy.
[7] "With."
[8] Go all.

to the fair green grass on the other side, and there they streik and dry themselves. You will say, What shall we doe? Shall we hear such a man? Indeed, we cannot well tell. Some may be heard, and some not. How shall we spend the Sabbath? How shall we get impositions payed? How shall I state my sufferings upon such small matters? Can I state on this that I have a scunnering of heart at such ane thing? It may be it is offensive to the Lord's people, and it is not for the glory of God, [when I am seeking such a thing, and whether I may state my sufferings upon that.[1]] Now, I grant these are ticklish things, and neither time nor ability serves me to goe through them; but it may be after we have been debaiting among ourselves, in such ane case, tyme and Providence shall, when it comes nearer, make it appear a far other thing, and clear enough. Have ye observed the Providence of God?, have ye observed that (blessed and glorious is the Lord) possibly some would have said not many years since, We will be circumveened and drawn on to such and such things piece and piece? But if we be drawn to abjure and quite the Covenant, that is a clear case not to goe in such a way. Lord be blessed, these who are not great friends to the work of God, are not alwayes very deep in their policy. It may be they have deeps and policies in some respects that we are not aware of; but if they have a deep and a policie under that, our Lord Jesus hath a deep and a policie under theirs,[2] to discover and overturn that their policie. And for that question, What shall we doe?[3] I must give it over, and, therefore, look unto him, and to the word that you have heard, "Watch and pray, that you enter not into temptation." And, indeed, these that labour to reform their heart and life, if there be any doubt anent some particulars, he will, in his own time, make them clear. Christians have sundry cases, [that] some goe and doe such things, and some not; who can help it? It is ane plague that it is soe; it hath been the plague of the Church thir many years. However, this may saifly be maintained—A man takes such things to

[1] MS. vol. xxvii. [2] Under their deep. [3] Ye shall do.

be his master's instructions, (he is mistaken,) he thinks his master bids him obey, and so he doeth, and therupon goes to suffering. What if he lose his head? I think that man will get his master's approbation, if he be not a pertinacious, violent, and headstrong man, that desyres to be singular; but a man that comes and falls on his face before God, and prayes, Lord, I think this thy will; if it be not, reveall it to me, and I shall follow it; but if it be, assist me in maintaining of it: for materially, virtually, and eminently, he obeyes his master when he obeyes the light of his own conscience, as far as he can attain to a clearness in it.[1]

We have been labouring among you these fourteen[2] years, and have that conviction we have not taken the[3] pains, in privat or publick, as we ought [to have done;] yet in some sort we hope we may say it without pride, we have not sought[4] yours, but you. We cared not to be rich and great in this world. To our knowledge we have not wronged [nor oppressed] any of you. In as far as we have given offence, less or more, to [any of] this congregation, or any that have interest in it, [or any round about it,] or any that are here present, or any of the people of God elsewhere,[5] we here crave God's pardon, and crave also your forgiveness, in as far as in any way we have grieved you or weakened you. We cannot tell, if the Lord see it good,[6] he may continue our liberty with us for a while; [and] if not, there are some here may say that in the same quarrell now about thirty years agoe, we endured somewhat, and a very litle it was, but yet it was the loss of our

[1] A man taks such a thing to be his maister's instructiouns to command or to forbear such a thing. Now [though] the thing be in some respect unlawfull, yet may he be brought to suffer and losse his head in the defence of it, and may be accepted of his master for all that, provyding he be not pertinatious and singular, and glory in a kynd of self-suffering, as sum may have that humour. But and a man can fall doun upon his knees on his face before God, and say, Now, O Lord, I desyre in this to know thy will, and thus it is revealed unto me, and I desyre to follow it. Well, though he sould be mistaken, yet materially, virtually, &c.—(Vol. xxvii. of Wod. MSS.)

[2] Severall. [3] "That." [4] Been seeking.

[5] Any of his people that are absent.

[6] We cannot tell but the Lord may, if he see it good.

ministrie, and all we had in the world; and we bless God to this day, that we had never cause to repent, and we hope never shall. Now, I shall say no more. I commend you all to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you ane inheritance among all them that are sanctified; and whatever become of us, [the] Lord have ane care of you; [and we would wish] if we be put away, the Lord would send you a better. Truely we shall not desyre to speak it in vanity, but in the present juncture of affairs we fear you shall not be so well provided, though we be nothing, and less than nothing. [But now we closse, and prais to him for evermore. Amen.]

ANE ACCOMPT

OF WHAT PAST WHEN

MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE

APPEARED BEFORE THE

COUNCILL IN THE LOWER COUNCIL-HOUSE AT EDINBURGH,

DECEMBER 11, 1662,

AT WHICH TIME THEY BANISHED HIM.

ANE ACCOMPT

OF WHAT PAST WHEN

MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE

APPEARED BEFORE THE

COUNCILL IN THE LOWER COUNCIL-HOUSE AT EDINBURGH.[1]

Lord Chancellour.—You are called here before his Majestie's Secret Councill for turbulency and sedition. You have been in all the rebellions and disobedience to authority that have been these many years; and although his Majestie and Parliament have given an act of indemnity for what is past, yet you continue in the same courses.

Mr Livingstone.—My Lords, if I shall not be so ready in my answers as were requisite, or if anything, through inadvertency, shall offend, I crave to be excused in regard of my unacquaintedness with such wayes, as being now towards sixty years, and was never before called in such sort before such a judicatory. I am a poor servant of Jesus Christ, and have been labouring to serve him and his people in the ministrie of his word, and it is a grief to me to be so charged by your Lordship; for I am not conscious to myself

[1] Wodrow MSS., vol. xviii., 4to, No. 12, collated with Mr M'Crie's MS. See Livingstone's *Life*, p. 190.

of any turbulancy or sedition. There are some things anent the officers and government of the Church wherein I confess my judgment and principles differ from what is presently maintained; but I have laboured to carry myself with all moderation and peaceableness with due respect to authority, and have lived so obscurely, that I wonder how I am taken notice of.

L. Ch.—You have transgressed two acts of Parliament, one appointing the 29th day of May a day of commemoration of his Majestie's happie restoring, and ane other appointing the synods to be keeped. Did you preach on the 29th day of May?

Mr Liv.—There are witnesses in toun who will testifie that I preached the last 29th of May.

L. Ch.—[But] did you keep the day as is appointed in obedience to the act of Parliament?

Mr Liv.—I dare not say that I did soe: it was my ordinar lecture-day; yet the place of Scripture that was my ordinary gave occasion to speak somewhat of the benefite of magistracy.

L. Ch.—But will [not] you publickly, as others doe, acknowledge the Lord's mercy in restoring the king?

Mr Liv.—I have (my Lord) done so, both at the first, and sometime since.

L. Ch.—But what is the reason that you doe not keep the day appointed by the Parliament?

Mr Liv.—My Lord, I have not that promptness of judgement or expression that were requisite for surprising questions, and would beg, if your Lordship please, to be[1] forborn.

L. Ch.—Can you not give a reason why you keep it not?

Mr Liv.—My Lord, even [in] the laws of God there is a great difference betwixt a man's doing of that which God hath forbidden, and the not doing at a time, for want of clearness, the thing that God hath commanded, and much more this holds in the laws of men.

L. Ch.—But what reason can you show why you scruple to keep that day?

[1] "That I may be."

Mr Liv.—My Lord, there may be some expression that may furnish a scruple to a man who conceives that God only can appoint a holy day.

L. Ch.—But you keeped dayes of your own. You keeped a day of thanksgiving for the battle of Langmarstonmoore, and severall dayes of fasting in the time of the engadgement. Did you not keep the day for Langmarstonmoore?

Mr Liv.—So far as I know, I did; but these dayes were not, nor were not called holy dayes, but only appointed on special occasions; and besyde, one may scruple if any have power to appoint anniversary holy dayes.

L. Ch.—But will you keep that day thereafter?[1]

Mr Liv.—My Lord, I would desyre first to see ane issue of this wherein I am engadged by this citation, before I be urged to answer for the time to come.

L. Ch.—Well, because of your disobedience to these two acts, the Councill looks on you as a suspect person, and, therefore, thinks it fitting to require you to take the oath of alleadgeance. You know it, and have considered it?

Mr Liv.—Yes, my Lord.

L. Ch.—The clerk shall read it to you. (He reads it.) Now that you have heard it read, are you free[2] to take the oath?

Mr Liv.—My Lord, I doe acknowledge the king's Majesty (whose person and government I wish[3] God to bless) to be the only lawfull supreame magistrate of this and all other of his Majesty's dominions, and that his Majesty is the supreme civill governour over all persons, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastick as civill; but for the oath as it stands in terms, I am not free to take it.

L. Ch.—I think you and we agree as to the oath?

Lord Advocat.—My Lord Chancellor, your Lordship doth not observe that he useth a distinction, that the king is the supream civil governour, that he may make way for the co-ordinate power of the[4] Presbytrie.

[1] "Hereafter." [2] "Clear." [3] "Pray." [4] "The" omitted.

Mr Liv.—My Lord, I doe indeed believe and confess, that Jesus Christ is the only Head of his Church, and that he only hath power to appoint a government and discipline for removeing of offences in his [own] house, which is not dependent upon civill powers, and nowayes wrongs civil powers. But withall, I acknowledge his Majesty to have a cumulative power and inspection in the house of God, for seeing both the tables of the law keeped; and that his Majesty hath all the ordinary power that was in the kings of Israel and Judah, and in the Christian emperors and kings, since the primitive times, for reforming, according to the word, what is amiss.

L. Ch.—We doe not say that the king hath power to ordain ministers, or to excommunicat, and, therefore, are you not free to take the oath?

Mr Liv.—My Lord, in the terms I have expressed, I am free to take it; for[1] I know not if it would be well taken off my hand to add one word, or to give an explication of the oath which the Right Honourable the States of Parliament hath set doun.

L. Ch.—Nay, it is not in the power of the Councill so to do.

Mr Liv.—I have always been of that judgement, and am, and will be, that his Majesty is supream governour in a civill way over all persons, and in all causes.

L. Commissioner.—You may not say that you have allwayes been of that judgement, for you have been opposite to the king, and so have many here, and so have I been; but now it is requisite that we profess our obedience to him, and would wish you to doe so. You are to consider that there is a difference between a church to be constitute and a church constitute; for when it is to be constitute, ministers and professors may doe their work upon their hazard: but when a church is constitute with the consent of the civil magistrat, who hath power to appoint the bounds of parishes, and the stipends, he may appoint the bishops his commissioners, and ordain them to keep synods, and ordain ministers to come to these synods.

[1] "But."

Mr Liv.—May it please your Grace, I hope the churches that are mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles were constitute churches, although they had not the[1] concurrence of the civil magistrate.

L. Ch.—You have heard many things spoken; will you not take some time to advise whether you will take the oath or not?

Mr Liv.—I humbly thank your Lordship, it is a favour which, if I had any doubt or hesitation, I would willingly accept; but seeing, after seeking God, and advising anent the matter, I have such darkness[2] as I use to get in such things, if I should take time to advise, it would import that I have unclearness, or hesitation, which I have not; and I judge it were a kind of mocking your Lordship to take time, and then return and give your Lordship the same answer.

L. Com.—Then you are not for new light?

Mr Liv.—Indeed I am not, if it please your Grace.

L. Ch.—Then you will remove yourself.

Being removed, and called in again,

L. Ch.—The Lords of his Majesty's Councill have ordained that within two moneths you remove out of his Majesty's dominions, and that within forty-eight hours you remove out of Edinburgh, and goe to the north side of Tay, and their remain till you depart forth[3] of the countrey.

Mr Liv.—I submitt to your Lordship's sentence; but I humbly beg that I may have a few dayes to goe home and see my wife and children.

L. Ch.—By no means; you may not be suffered to goe to that countrey.

Mr Liv.—Against what time must I goe to the north of Tay?

L. Com.—You may be there against Saturnday come seven night.

[*Mr Liv.*—What if it be stormy, or I not able to travell?

L. Com.—Doe it with all convenient diligence.[4]]

Mr Liv.—Well, although it be not permitted me that I should

[1] "Although they wanted the." [2] *Sic* in MS. [3] "Out."

[4] These two lines are supplied from Mr M'Crie's MS.

breath in my native air, yet I trust what part of the world soever I go to, I shall not cease to pray for a blessing to[1] these lands, and to his Majesty, and the government, and the inferior magistrates thereof, but especially to the land of my nativitie.

L. Ch.—You must either goe to the Tolbooth, or subscrive a few words of acquiescing to your sentence.

Mr Liv.—My Lord, rather then I will goe to the Tolbooth I will subscrive the same; the tenor whereof is:—"I, Mr John Livingstone, late minister at Ancrum, bind and obliedge me, that I shall remove myself forth of his Majesty's dominions, within the space of eight weeks after the date heirof, and that I shall not remain within the same hereafter, without licence from his Majesty or Privy Councill, under the pain of death; and that I shall depart from Edinburgh to the north side of Tay, and there remain while my departure, and that my going off Edinburgh shall be within forty-eight houres after the date heirof. Subscribed at Edinburgh the 11th [day] of December 1662."

L. Com.—You must see that you keep no conventicles, nor preach in churches nor houses.

To that he answered nothing.

He cannot say that this is all that either they or he spoke; or that he hath so punctually repeated their speeches as his own, but so near as he remembers these things were spoken. It may be some of the things given as spoken by the chancelor were spoken by the commissioner. One also of these two had a[2] discourse, that his case was like some of the contests of the Jesuits anent the power of the Pope and Councill, but he did not well understand it, nor remember it. He remembers also one, but he knows [not] who, asserted that it was a part of the king's supremacy (and so imported in the oath) to sett up the bishops in the church. Some things also they spoke to which he gave no answer; but, so far as he remembers, this is the substance of all.

Now also, by the suggestion of some others, he remembers that

[1] "On." [2] "Had some."

when he was speaking of the king's civill power in religious things, they enquired if the king had power to convocate synods. To which he answered, he had, not meaning thereby that he had the only power, but that as Christ's officers have power from him to enact, so also the king, when need is, hath power to conveen them; but he did not say, as is given out by some, that the king had[1] power to dissolve synods at his pleasure. They also enquired if there was any co-ordinat power with the king's. As he remembers, he answered, there was no civill co-ordinat power with the king's; but if he did not add the word civill, as he cannot fully determine whether he added it or not, so it must be meant that way, for he was speaking of the king's civill power, and had before asserted that Christ had appointed a government and discipline, which was not dependant on civill powers, and Christ's power in the Church (his soveraignty being infinit) cannot be said to be co-ordinat with the civill power that he hath given to creatures; and the power that his servants exerce in his name cannot properly be said to be co-ordinat with civill powers, it being of a far different kind from theirs, being only exercised ministerially, and being about things of another world.

[1] "Hath."

A LETTER

FROM

MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE

TO HIS PAROCH, BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FORTH OF THE KINGDOM, WHEN PERMISSION TO VISIT IT AFTER HIS SENTENCE WAS REFUSED.

A LETTER

FROM

MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE

TO HIS PAROCH, BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FORTH OF THE KINGDOM, WHEN PERMISSION TO VISIT IT AFTER HIS SENTENCE WAS REFUSED.[1]

TO THE FLOCK OF JESUS CHRIST IN ANCRUM,
LIGHT, LIFE, AND LOVE, AND THE CONSOLATION OF THE HOLY GHOST,
BE MULTIPLIED.

WELL-BELOVED IN THE LORD,

THAT which our sins, even yours and mine, have been a long time procureing, and which hath been often threatened, but never well believed, is now come, even an separation. How long it may continue, it is in the Lord's hand; but it will be our part to search out and mourn for these sins that have drawn down such an stroak. It is not needfull to look much to instruments; I

[1] Printed from the Wodrow MSS., vol. xviii. 4to, No. 10, and collated with a MS. in the possession of Rev. T. M'Crie. This letter was read "upon ane Lord's day out of the pulpit, by an honest minister occasionally employed to preach at the time."

have from my heart forgiven them all, and would wish you to doe the like, and pray for them that it be not laid to their charge. But let us look to him, without whose doeing there is no evill in a city; for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up. Let us neither despise his chastening, nor faint when we are rebuked of him. It may be we shall not suddenly find out every controversie he hath against us; but if there be upright dealing in such things as are obvious, and an impartial dealing for discovery[1] of what is hid, he will reveal even that to us. Neither is there any greater hinderance of repentance than an secure, desperate questioning whether he will accept of us or not. Christ hath been, and will be in all ages, ane stone of stumbling and rock of offence to such as stumble at the word, and refuse to receive his rich offers, but to others ane foundation and ane corner-stone, elect and precious, and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded. We have reason to believe that whatever he doth is only best. God saw all that he had made, and, behold, it was very good. That word will hold through to the world's end.

For my part, I bless his name I have great peace in the matter of my suffering. I need not repeat,—you know my testimony of the things in controversie. Jesus Christ is ane King, and only hath power to appoint the officers and government of his house. It is an fearfull thing to violat the oath of God, and fall into the hands of ane living God. It could not well be[2] expected that there having been so fair and so generall professions through the land, the Lord would put men to it; and it is like it shall come to every man's door, that when every one, according to their inclinations, have acted their part, and he seems to stand by, he may come at last and act his part, and vindicate his glory and truth.

I have often shewed you that it is the greatest difficulty under heaven to believe that there is ane God, and ane life after this; and have often told you, that for my part, I could never make it ane[3] chief part of my work to insist upon the particular debates of the

[1] "Discovering." [2] "Have been." [3] "The."

time, as being assured that if ane man drink in the knowledge and [the love of] the main foundations of the Christian religion, and have the work of God's Spirit in his heart, to make him walk with God, and make conscience of his wayes, such ane one[1] (except he be giddie with self-conceit) shall not readily mistake Christ's quarrel, to joyn either with ane prophane Atheist party, or ane fantastick[2] Atheist party, but the secret of the Lord will be with them that fear him, and he will show them his covenant. And I have thought it not far from ane sure argument, that ane course is not approven of God when generally all they that are godly, and all prophane men turning penitent, scunner at it, and it may be, cannot tell why; and, generally, all the prophane at the first sight, and all that had an profession of piety, when they turn loose embrace it, and it may be, [they] cannot tell why. There may be diversitie of judgment, and sometime sharp debaites among them that are going to heaven; but certainly one Spirit guides the seed of the woman, and ane other spirit the seed of the serpent; and blessed are they that know their Master's will, and doe it; blessed are they that endure to the end.

Both you and I have great cause to bless the Lord. Howbeit, I be the unworthiest of all that ever spoke in his name; yet my labour amongst you hath not been altogether in vain, but some hath given evidence of ane real work of the Spirit of grace upon their heart and life, of which number some are already in glory, and others wrestling through ane evil world; and I trust some that have not yet given great evidence of ane real work of the Spirit of God upon their heart may have the seed of God in them, that may in due time bud forth, at least at their death. But, ah! what shall be said of them in whom yet ane evill spirit of drunkenness, of greed and falshood, of malice, of licentiousness, of wilfull ignorance and neglect of prayer, and all the means of salvation, is still reigning and rageing, who possibly will now be glad that they get loose reins to run to all wickedness, yea, may be carried on to open

[1] "Such a man." [2] "Fanatik."

apostacy and persecution? These, and all of you, I request in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, yea, I obtest and charge you, in the name and authority of him who shall judge the quick and the dead, that you turn speedily to the Lord, and make conscience of prayer morning and evening, and read, or cause read to you, some of his word, where you will find all things necessarie for faith and conversation. It is true, snares and temptations are many and strong from Satan, from the world, and from the minde and heart within; but faith in God, and diligent seeking of him, shall overcome them all. Shall not the care of your immortall souls goe beyond the love of this life, or any thing of this world? Oh! that you would but taste and see the goodness of the Lord, and take ane essay for ane while of sincere serving of him, and prove him if he will not open the windows of heaven and pour out a blessing. Let me obtain this of you as ane recompense of all the labour I have had amongst you, and as ane allaying of my sufferings I am put to, that after you read this, you will set some time apart each of you alone, or in your families, as you have conveniency, to think on these directions have been formerly given you from the Word of God, and deal earnestly with him, that you may remember and obey them, and engadge your hearts to him, that in his strength you will walk in his wayes; and if any shall stubbornly neglect such ane wholsome counsell that comes from ane earnest desyre of your salvation, I will be forced to bear witnes against you; yea, these words you now hear read shall bear witnes against you in the day of the Lord, that light was holden out to you, and you loved darkness rather than light. But I desire to hope better things of you.

If the Lord see it good, we may see the day that we may meet again, and bless his name solemnly, that although he was angry, his anger is turned away; but if not, the good will of the Lord be done. I think I may say that I could have been well content, although it had been with many discouragements and straits, to have gone on and served you all as I could in the gospell of Jesus Christ; but the prerogative royall of Jesus Christ, and the peace

of a man's own conscience, are not to be violated on any consideration, neither [could] there have been ane blessing on ought that is done against these.

I was very desireous, and used means, that I might have come and seen you, and at last, in an privat way bidden you farewell, ere I had gone, but wise Providence hath otherwise ordered it. Yet, howsoever, I carry your names alongst with me in my book, yea, shall carry them in my heart whithersoever I goe, and begs your mutuall prayers for me, that I may be keeped faithfull and fruitfull, and blameless, even to the end, and that if it be his will, I may be restored to you. In the meantime, love and help one another; have a care to breed your children to know the Lord, and to keep themselves from the pollutions of ane evill world. I recommend to you above all books, (except the blessed Word of God,) the Confession of Faith, and Larger Catechisme: be grounding yourselves, and one another, against the abominations of Poprie, in case it should prove the trouble of the time, as I apprehend it may. Let ane care be had of the poor and sick; there is left as much in ane ordinary way as will suffice for meat and money for a year and more. I cannot insist on the severall particulars wherein possibly you would crave advice. The word is ane lamp, and the Spirit of Christ will guide[1] into all truth. The light that comes after unfeigned humiliation and self-denyall, and earnest prayer, and search of the Scriptures, is ane sure light. I know that my word and write is of small value, yet I could not forbear, but in a few words, salute you before I went. And now, dearly-beloved and longed for, farewell. The Lord of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternall glory by Jesus Christ, after you have suffered a while, make you perfect, stablish, settle, strengthen you. To him be glory and dominion, for ever and ever. Amen. By your loving servant and pastor in the Lord,

(*Sic subscribitur*) JOHN LIVINGSTONE.

Leith, Aprile 3d, 1663.

[1] "Lead."

A LETTER

WRITTEN BY THAT

FAMOUS AND FAITHFULL MINISTER OF CHRIST,

MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE,

UNTO HIS

PARISHONERS OF ANCRUM, IN SCOTLAND,

DATED ROTTERDAM, OCTOBER 7, 1671.

MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE'S LETTER

TO HIS

PARISHONERS OF ANCRUM.[1]

WELL-BELOVED IN THE LORD,

I CANNOT excuse my long silence. I have a wofull lazy disposition, and indisposition for writing; yea, I judge anything I write is scarce worthy that any should look on or read, besides that my slow and shaking hand is some hinderance to me. Yet when I consider that I have an account to make for you to the great Shepherd, as having laboured amongst you in the ministrie of his word some fourteen years, and now, after near by nine years' banishment, age and infirmities creep on, and through a constant pain of the gravel I have much ado, once a week, on the Lord's day, to go a very short way to the publick worship, so as there is no great probability I can ever see your faces in this life, and it is most fitting for me to set my face forward toward my last reckoning, I thought I behooved in a manner to make unto you my testament, and open my mind concerning myself, concerning you, and concerning the present posture of affairs in that land.

[1] This letter is printed from the second edition, which bears to have been "reprinted in the year M.DCCX." It contains various notes by Mr Robert M'Ward, and "another hand;" but these are here omitted, as having no connection with Livingstone.

And in the entry, notwithstanding of all the sad things that have fallen out of late, I would put you in mind of the many good days we have seen together, both of Sabbath days and solemn communion days, wherein we saw the Lord's power and his grace in his sanctuary, that in remembrance thereof we may exalt his name together, and know, that though he cause grief, yet he will have compassion according to the multitude of his mercies. Ye may easily discern what a difference is between those days and such as ye now see; and what an evil and bitter thing it is, that by our not improving of those days, we have provocked him to hide his face, and send such an inundation of matchless apostacy, perjury, persecution, profanity, atheism, yea, darkness, distractions, and despondency, amongst his own, in all which we may yet expect he is waiting to be gracious, and will be exalted that he may have mercy upon us.

I. (1.) For my part, I have peace in regard of these particulars, 1*st*, That not only since my entrie into the ministry, but even from my infancy, the Lord was pleased to lead me to an aversion from prelacy, a stinted liturgie, the ceremonies, and other corruptions of that time; and that in my ministrie, both in Ireland and Scotland, I joined with those who were streight in the cause of God, and testified against these evils, that I joined in the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant, and other parts of the works of reformation that was carried on in the year 1638, and thereafter, as being assured that the Lord did then, does yet, and will ever approve of that work and the prosecution therof. 2*d*, That I came to Ancram not out of any worldly end, but from a desire to do service to God, and to the souls of his people, and had thereto the Lord's call by your invitation, and the consent and sending of the rightly constituted Church that then was, both the General Assembly and Presbytery. 3*d*, That in my ministrie among you, howbeit I came much short of attainment, my resolution and aim was only to set the glory of God and good of your souls before mine eyes; and that it pleased him so to bless my poor weak endeavours as that sundry seals of the ministry of his

word were visibly seen, some whereof are already in glory, and some are wrestling thither. 4*th*, That when I appeared before the Council, at what time I was sentenced with banishment for refusing to swear the oath, as they called it, of alledgeance, and which was indeed the oath of supremacy, and did really contain such a supremacy as is since fully established, that then I did not, as was propounded by them, take time to advise of mine answer, which I judged could import my unclearness in the matter; and that it was not so much out of respect to me as for that very end propounded, but told plainly I was fully clear, and resolved not to take it. For these, and many such singular passages of the Lord's gracious guiding me in my pilgrimage, I desire from my heart to bless his glorious name, and would beg help of all his people to join with me therein. But, (2.) I have challenges beside many others in respect of these particulars, 1*st*, That all along in my ministrie I did not stir up or improve the gift that the Lord had given me, nor so carry myself like a spiritual, grave, diligent, and faithful servant of Christ as I ought to have done. 2*d*, That in my ministry among you, I was not more frequent in visiting families, and dealing with persons in particular, to bring them to, and keep them in the ways of God. 3*d*, That when the late grievous defection began in the year 1661 and 1662, I did not stir up myself and others, whatsoever hazard might have ensued, to appear by supplications and publick testimonies in avowing the Covenant and work of Reformation, which if it had been done by Church judicatories, or but singly by ministers and professors in the due season, according to our engagements, might both have glorified God, been a door of hope for the posterity, procured more peace to our own consciences, yea, possibly stopped much of the defection and suffering that hath since ensued. 4*th*, When I appeared before the Council, I did not take occasion humbly, yet plainly, to remonstrate the guilt of those things which were publickly enacted and done against the prerogative royal of Jesus Christ, and against his Church and people, and to give warning of the wrath to come on them and the land without repentance, but did content myself

with answering what was propounded to me. For these, and such other neglects and miscarriages in my life, I would desire to go mourning to the grave, and would entreat for help from you and others of the Lord's people, to seek from himself pardon, and purifieing of both private and publick, both sins of person and calling.

II. As for you, I may reckon you all in three ranks: The first rank, and I fear the greater number, is of those who, although in general professors of Christianity, yet, so far as could be observed, never laid religion to heart; and some of these, for gross ignorance and loosness, were always debarred from the Lord's Supper; others, although having some knowledge and a civil walk, yet, upon good grounds, were always suspected to be void of the love and fear of God, continuing in their natural unrenewed condition, neglecting the worship of God in their families and alone, and shewing, by all their carriage, that their thoughts and desires never went beyond this world: These, no doubt, are glad of the change now com'd, that they may cast off Christ's yoke, and be free of the word and discipline, which terrified and tormented them, and may now both swear terrible oaths, and drink drunk, which by some will be expounded as a clear evidence of their loyaltie; they may now, after the example of many great ones, walk in the lust of uncleanness, mind nothing but how by any means, just or unjust, to get the world, and then how to spend it on their lusts; and to their power, persecute all who will not run with them to the same excess of riot. Now, as I have often in publick, with as great earnestness and tenderness as I could, warned these to flee from the wrath to come, so I would yet desire them to stand still a little before they go to the pit, and hear from a truly loving friend a few words, which, I am confident, in the day of the great reckoning, shall be found a message from the living God. Do you believe there is a God, or heaven, or hell? or can ye, with all your strength, scrape the thoughts of these out of your sleeping consciences? Or do ye in such sort hate God, that because ye are his creatures, ye will so far be avenged on your selves, as to sell your selves to his

enemie, the devil, for nought, to be tormented in all eternity? I am most sure, none of you all can be sure that ye are reprobats; and I can give you assurance, greater than the stability of heaven and earth, even the sworn word of him that liveth and reigneth for ever, that if ye will forsake your wicked way, and yet betake your selves to the only Saviour of lost sinners, ye are no reprobates. O! what advantage have ye, when ye have gained all the world, and all the pleasures, all the riches, and all the favour of it, and have lost your immortal and precious souls? It is utterly impossible but that sometimes your own heart tells you there will be bitterness in the end. Doth not whoredom and drunkenness waste the body, take away the judgment, and leave a sting in the conscience? Can any avoid the curse that goods gotten by falshood or oppression bring upon the man and all he hath, yea, on his posterity? Is it not sad that Satan can prompt men to swear, curse, and blaspheme, and utter that which he dare not utter himself? And although ye were free of all outward outbreakings, doth not an unrenewed estate, the neglect of commanded duties, Sabbath-breaking, and such evils, bind you over to the wrath of Him who is coming there in flaming fire to take vengeance on them who know not God, and obey not the Gospel? Ye may possibly think you are so far gone on that there is no retreat, and the ways of the Lord are such as your disposition can never agree with; but how can your disposition agree to burn and consume, and never consume, in everlasting flames, where each of all your sins shall have their own particular torment? How can ye agree to dwell with infernal furies? Or will ye add to all your other wickedness, dispaire, and despising of all the Lord's loving, loud, and long-continued invitations? What shall you answer, if hereafter the Lord shall say to some of you, I would have given thee both grace and glory if thou hadst but sought it; thou wouldest not give once two or three knocks at my door; you would not open when I knocked oft and long at thy door? by so doing, you have subscribed thine own reprobation and condemnation.

Oh let me obtain this much of all and every one of you, for all

the pains I have taken among you in preaching, for all my nine years' banishment from you, for all the prayers I have put up for you, for all the love which he who knoweth all things knoweth I bear to you; yea, let your own souls, and the love you have to your own welfare here and hereafter, obtain it; or rather let him, who for sinners shed all his most precious blood at Jerusalem, obtain this of you, that you will take one day each of you alone, from morn to evening, forbearing both meat and drink, and go apart rather into some quiet room in an house, or unto some part of the fields, where you may be most quiet, and having before-hand marked in the Bible such places as are fit to be read at such a time; as also, having somewhat searched your way toward God, and his ways toward you, there set your selves in his sight, spending the time in confession of sins, and prayer for pardon and grace to serve him, and save your own souls; and if (which is not readily to be supposed) ye get no access on such a day, yet continue thereafter in such exercise and suits; for deliverance from hell, enjoying of heaven, and the favour of God, are worth more pains than ye can take all our life. Now, if this so easie and necessary advice shall be rejected, without prescribing time and place, or measure and manner, but if the main intent of taking some time to humble your selves before God, and, turning unto him, be rejected, I take instruments, before sun and moon, and all the creatures, that I have left this warning, as an indorsed summonds, fixed on the door of your consciences, to be called and judged before him, who is ready to judge the quick and the dead, at his appearing, and in his glory; when, beside the witnessing of all your sins, of your own consciences, and of all the creatures, I also, as your lawful minister, sent to procure your reconciliation with God, shall appear to witness that ye got fair warning, but did reject the same, and would needs choose death. Therefore, while it is called to-day, take a trial of Christ's yoke, do put him to it, and see whether or not he will open the windowes of heaven, and rain blessings and righteousness upon you; come and see, and tast the goodness of the Lord. Ye shall be made to say, He is a rich and loving master; once engage your

hearts to him, and ye may defye Sathan and all the allurments and terrors of the world to draw you from him. Glad would my heart be to hear, before I go to the grave, that some of you have begun a new course; and if ye begin indeed, ye will not get it supprest, it will be heard. I shall, as I can, pray for it, and desire others here to pray for it. It is not needfull to multiply words, I leave it with you, as ye shall answer to Jesus Christ, when he shall come in the clouds.

The second rank is of those who either had true grace, or seemed to have it, and who went a length beyond others in an orderly walk, and following the ordinances at home and abroad, but since the late change, have either turned loose and profane, or so far sided with the corruptions of the time, that not one foot print of their former stedfastness and tenderness doth appear, but they are justly reckoned among those who will obey whatsoever is commanded by man, although directly opposite to the will of God, revealed in his Word, and to their own lawfully sworn engagements: these, without repentance and amendment, are in a large worse condition than those of the first rank; for their practice proclameth that once they betook themselves to Jesus Christ and his ways, and had some love and respect for him, but now they repent that ever they did so; for they have seen something in him for which they judge he is not worthy that they should either do or suffer any thing for him. I am much assured that Sathan hath got such entrance in some of those who once had a profession, and now are declined, that they shall not again be renewed unto repentance, but shall wax worse and worse, having their consciences seared with an hot iron. Oh, that my fears may be prevented! But I have good confidence that some who have gone a great length in this course of apostacy shall yet, before they go off the world, glorifie God by a free and full confession of their foul fall. Yea, I trust that sundry of them want not a gnawing sting even all along, but fear of shame before the world, and fear of worldly loss, (and oh, how small a thing of the world have any of these to have preferred to blessed Jesus Christ!) these hinder

hitherto their coming off their dangerous way. Let all who have declined, and who have not willingly and wilfully chosen to remain in opposition to God, and his righteous ways, and his afflicted people, let them but compare their present state with what it was before, and answer within their own heart to God, which of the two they allow as best? Ye had encouragement beyond many others, in that the Lord enabled three or four of that congregation, and these but boys, chearfully to endure scourging and banishment rather than depart from their former principles and practice, and most of these are now in a better outward condition than before; these shall be witnesses against you, if ye do not in time betake your selves avowedly to your former profession. I have yet by me the subscriptions to the Covenant of all the men that were of the congregation. Not only that paper, but the hands of all, both men and women, which in swearing the Covenant, after reading the solemn acknowledgement of sins, and engagement to duties, were lifted up to God; these hands, because they will endure for ever, shall be everlasting witnesses either for you or against you. Ye got warning that such trials would come as have since ensued, and seemed to be fortified against them.

Remember the speech I had to you the Munday after the last communion, wherein, presaging what would shortly follow, I in a manner bid you farewell; ye seemed then to be somewhat moved, and to resolve on all hazard to abide by the cause of God; ye seemed to run well, who or what hath hindered you that ye should not obey the truth? It may be, there are few or none in all the land who, in all points, have keept their covenant to God, but have neglected some opportunities of their duty, and the good Lord will pardon such as see the plague of their own heart, and turn to him; but to join in the course of defection with those who have abjured that covenant, to countenance an intruded hireling, and join with him in that which they call worship; yea, to sit and drink with him who was lawfully and deservedly excommunicated by the Church of Scotland, to keep holy days appointed by men, to with-

draw from the fellowship and meetings of those who, in some degree, continue in their integrity. These are such gross and direct violations of the oath of God, as can proceed from nothing but a fearful deserting from God; from a preferring the will of man to the will of the living God, and preferring the ease and petty pelf of the world to the salvation of your immortal souls. I am fully sure, ye dare not say before the Lord, that although all fear of inconvenience from man were quite taken away, yet conscience of obeying the will of God would make you do as now ye do. If ye were sure within ten days by death to turn your back on all, would you not think it fitting, that both God and the world saw a change on you from your present way? And you have no assurance of one day. Think often on Christ's word, that who deny him before men, he will deny them before his Father. It is impossible, it is utterly impossible, to be a disciple of Jesus Christ, or an heir of glory, without a resolution to quite all, even life itself, for his sake, when called to it. I am much afraid, when the conscience of some of you shall waken, that ye shall hardly be keeped from some degrees of despair. Come off, come off in time; be not afraid or ashamed to witness against yourselves, and the wicked course of the time; give glory to God, get peace to your own consciences, strengthen the hands, and make glad the hearts of those that are seeking God. Ye know not, but if ye delay, your wakening may come after the door is shut, and that then shall be no times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord!

As for the poor wretch that is thrust in upon you, do not hate him, do not injure him, rather pray for him, and use means if it be possible, that he may recover, but do not countenance or join with him; ye may easily be sensible he is not a messenger from the Lord, for your spiritual good, but a snare and hardener of you in unwarranted ways. I may, by good ground from the Word of God, affirm, that unless a gracious change be wrought, both he and all that follow him shall perish eternally. Now the Lord himself, who only can do it, open your eyes to see the danger of your way, urge and enable you to take some time to mourn before him in secret,

and openly to testifie, as occasion offers, before good and evil, that ye are returned to your former profession; then shall none of all your transgressions be mentioned unto you.

The third rank is the little handful of those who, in such an evil time, have laboured to keep their garments clean, to whom it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer, or at least expose themselves to suffering, for his sake. Ye have great cause to bless the Lord, and I and many others will join with you, to bless his holy name, that howbeit ye have but a little strength, ye desire to keep his Word, and not deny his name. Ye have found, and will find yet more, that Christ will not be behind with you, nor sleep in your debt. I trust your consolations abound far beyond your fears or dangers of sufferings. Your hundred-fold is going to the fore for you and yours in the bank of heaven, when more than an hundred is the interest for one. Christ was once owned as King of his Church in that land, that in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, his laws in his Word should be the only rule; and hereunto all, from the highest to the lowest, had by oath engaged themselves: now abjured Prelacy is brought in, Christ's faithful servants cast out, hirelings thrust in his house, the whole disposing of Church matters, persons and meetings, by the Act of Supremacy, referred to the sole arbitriment of a mortal creature, and persecution bended against all who go not alongs in that apostacie and perjury; and is not, then, suffering stated on[1] as important a quarrel as ever was since the foundation of the world? The smallest point of Christ's prerogative royal is not only worth the sufferings, but worth more than the eternal salvation of all the elect. Be not afraid, but he who sits crowned King on mount Zion knows well how to right himself. Not only a touch of the iron rod in his hand, or the sword that cometh out of his mouth, but a frown or wink of his eye, can dash in pieces all the potsheards of the earth; he shall appear to your joy, and they shall be ashamed; this cloud of opposition to his work will be scattered, as many others have been

[1] Or, endured in.

before. He is only taking a tryal what will be every man's part; and not only the malice of enemies, but the weakness of some of his own will be discovered. He will suffer the opposers of his work to sport themselves a little, as if they had done their work, and rooted out both truth and godliness. And he will have his own brought to a necessity, both of more vigorous faith depending cleanly and closs on himself and his Word, and more deep humiliation, serious repentance and amendment. But he hath his set time when he will awak as a mighty man; and I hope, build his palace in that land, with the addition of more glory than ever was before.

As for you, I would advertise you of two or three things: 1*st*, It is not enough to be stedfast in the present controversie; ye must study to be holy in all manner of conversation, and shine as lights, blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation. An idol entertained in the heart, or a blemish in the life, will make a fearful discovery of unsoundness in the end. Let the love and fear of God be made evident to all on-lookers, in all your carriage, so shall ye go near to convince even adversaries of the reality of your religion. 2*d*, Consider this battle is not at an end; ye have not resisted unto blood; ye know not what trials may abide you, keep on your armour, strengthen your resolution to deny yourselves, and all ye have, for his sake; dwell near to, and be always in good terms with, the Captain of salvation; and be not afraied but ye shall be furnished abundantly what to say, what to do, and how to endure. 3*d*, If the Lord, for such fearful apostacy and breach of covenant, shall, besides the dreadful spiritual judgments already poured out, send any common calamity in that land, as sword, pest, or famine, I would pray and hope that ye may be hid; but if any of these stroaks shall reach any of you, do not grudge—your sins might procure more; it is much if ye get your souls for a prey. 4*th*, Keep up your meetings for prayer and mutual upstirring, cry mightily to God each of you apart, so shall not your meetings be flat or formal; a few wrestlers may help to keep God in the land, he is not willing to depart, if any will but hold him. Seek repent-

ance to the land and yourselves, stability to those that stand, recovery to such as have slidden or fallen. Let me have some little share in your prayers, that I may finish my course with joy, and still bring forth fruit in old age. Seek from the Lord right zeal, wisdom, and tenderness, to deal with any of your neighbours that ever appeared for him, and now have declined; if ye prevail with any of them, admit them to your meetings. Even the Lord give you understanding in all things.

III. Now as concerning the condition of the Church, and work of God in that land, ye remember that although I shuned not, according to my poor measure, and as occasion offered, and necessity required, to shew my mind of publick matters, dangers and duties of the time, yet I used not to insist very much in such things, as not being much inclined or able for disputing; and having found by frequent experience, that so soon as any were gained to close indeed with Christ, and lay religion to heart in earnest, these generally, out of a native principle, became presently sound in the controversies of the time. And in the present case, several things would seem rather to perswade silence; because, indeed, our present condition ought rather to be matter of lamentation and mourning before the Lord, day and night, alone and in company, than matter of discourse amongst ourselves; and because it's very hard to use freedom, and not displease some, whom a man would be very unwilling to offend; and because, of all men living, I have least reason to think that I would offer my light as a rule of any other man's light. But when I consider, that as one (although most unworthy, yet) intrusted by Jesus Christ, as an ambassador from him to his people, I am shortly to give account before him of my negotiation, I cannot decline what light I judge I have from him out of his Word anent present affairs, to open the same to you, as in his sight, in as great simplicity and ingenuity as I can.

And first, I need not insist to declare, that notwithstanding of all that hath fallen out of late, and all the objections against the work of reformation, all which were both propounded and answered

above thirty years ago, that yet both I and all that land, and the posterity after us, stand bound before the Lord to adhere to the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, and all the parts and degrees of reformation and uniformity which we had attained. Neither will I conceal, that howbeit thereafter I withdrew from the meetings of the Protesters, when I perceived the matter like to tend to a stated schisme; that yet after as narrow search as I could make, I have no challenges, but rather approbation, that in the beginning I joined in the protestation against the courses taken in the year 1651, and thereafter, for bringing in the malignant enemies of the work of God to counsels and command. I am not willing to rake in such ashes, (oh, if the fire were extinguished and forgotten!) and I know that some good men, in a day of great darkness and distress, did what they conceived for the time duty; yet when I consider our former engagements to the contrar, and that the principles and motives of these courses would necessarly recoil against former endeavours of purging the army; and against the opposition made to the unlawful engagement in the year 1648, yea, against the Solemn League and Covenant; and by consequence against the late work of reformation, yea, against the first reformation from Popery; and that the bulk of the disaffected ministers of the land, some whereof, although born down, might have been observed in every General Assembly, even from the year 1638, that these did natively joyn to make up the party, I judge these courses to have been no small step of the defection of the Church. I could have wished, indeed, that more moderation, and more real endeavours for union in the Lord, had been used on both sides; but I was also convinced that the late sad change was in some respect seasonably sent from the Lord, that faithful ministers and professors should rather suffer by the prelats, and such as, by overturning the work of God, brought them in, than by judicatures of the Church, which in all appearance would shortly have followed, yea, in some places was already begun. And it is most sad, that when time hath brought to light the necessary consequence of these courses, yet few or none of these have testified

any resentment thereof. Beside clear demonstrations of the efficacy of the gospel, in converting and confirming sinners, which hath been as conspicuous in the Church of Scotland as in any of the reformed Churches, the Lord was pleased, from the beginning, to put in the hand of his servants in that land a piece of service not so directly called for at the hands of some others of the Churches, to wit, as Christ's prophetical and priestly office had been debated, suffered for, and cleared, so they should stand and contend for his kingly office; that he is not only inwardly a spiritual Head to his mystical Church, but externally a spiritual politick Head to the politick body of the visible Church of professors, and their only Lawgiver, to invest them with intrinsick power to meet for his worship, and their officers appointed by him, to meet for discipline and ordering the affairs of his house, that no ceremonie or invention of man that want his stamp is to be brought into his worship, no officer to be brought into his house but such as he hath appointed in his word; and although his servants and people are to carry towards God's ordinance of magistracy where they live as any other subjects, and to deny them no respect or obedience due to them, yet in their meetings and administrations they are not subordinat unto, or dependant on, any civil power.

These and such others were the points asserted and suffered for by the renowned worthies of this Church: by Mr Knox, Mr Welsh, Mr Bruce, and many others, who now shine in glory. And although there have been in former times several sad days of the defection of ministers, as in the year 1584, and at other times, yet because there never was such a black hour and power of darkness as is now fallen upon us, I shall, in the second place, touch some particulars for which I judge ye and I, and many others, have reason most bitterly to mourn before the Lord. 1*st*, That in the begining of this grievous defection such a base cowardise fell generally on all, that not one testimony from any Church judicatory in Scotland was given to the cause of God, and against the horrid violation of a sworn Covenant; yea, some as industriously stopped testimonies as if they had been hired so to do, some whereof pretending it was

not a fit time when a most fit time came, and being urged thereto by authority, yet declined it. It was first and last the guilt of those who had the conviction on them to neglect the duty for want of the concurrence of others. True zeal for the honour of our Master, or remembrance of our reckoning before him, would have stirred us up to another sort of boldness. We would not have been so blunt in our own concernment; the sight of the father's danger brake the tack of a son's tongue who was tongue-tacked from the birth. The Lord, indeed, provided a real testimony from some who had, and have yet, of their bones witnessing before the sun. But, oh! that we did not adventure somewhat for his glory, for our own peace, for the good of posterity, yea, for the true good and edifying even of our opposites. We ought not only to be deeply humbled, and deal much and long for pardon for such an omission, but earnestly seek grace and strength to take hold of any opportunity for repairing such a loss.

2*d*, That some of those ministers who were laid aside by authority did in a manner lay themselves aside, as if they had been exonered of all charge; whereas such as have any liberty of a subject, and feet and tongue loose, ought rather to be instant in season and out of season, and from house to house instruct and wairn young and old, both of former charge, and everywhere, as occasion offers. It is true, none are now apostles, but ministers have the same charge that apostles had to feed the flock of Christ, and are given primarily not to any particular charge, but to the universal visible Church. Few of the apostles or apostolick men had either such churches and pulpits to preach in, or a settled maintenance. Love to Christ, and love to the souls of the people, that are perishing in ignorance and disobedience, would banish the love of ease, and the fear of danger, and the idol of carnal prudence. That however a man, for maintenance of himself and his family, might practise medicine, or labour land, or betake himself to any other employment, yet he is to remember the ministrie is his main imployment, and that at his admission he engaged before God to be diligent and faithful therein. Some have preached out of

prison windows; some have converted their keepers. It were to be wished that a minister in all places, in all company, at all times, were about somewhat of his Master's work; so shall he hear at last, Well done, good and faithful servant. Let us deal with the Lord, that he will deal with the hearts of all his servants, and thrust them out into his harvest, as I hope some who seemed to be somewhat deficient in that duty, are already begun to bestir themselves and others upon sight of the courses of the time, and the people's necessity and willingness to hear, will do yet more abundantly.

3*d*, That after the destroyers of the Lord's heritage had razed the work of Reformation to the foundation, and had not only invaded the rights that he hath allowed his servants in the government of his house, but, as far as creatures can do, usurped his own prerogative royal; and not at all hiding the snare, but by the letter to the Council, and the Council's act opening the design to have the ministry of the word wholly dependant on the civil power and supremacy; that yet some ministers accepted that which they called an indulgence of their ministrie, without any publick testimony either of their adherence to the oath of God and work of Reformation, or against these usurpations. Oh! for a head turned into waters, and eyes a fountain of tears, to deplore day and night such an indignity done to the Son of God without a witness, and such shame cast upon the Church of Scotland. Our fathers, for far less matters, contested with the powers of the earth, that the truth of the gospel might continue with us; and do we think that our Lord and Master is not able to maintain his own cause? I have great charity for most of the men, who I suppose may have a sting in the bosome for neglect of the opportunity. A Peter and a Barnabas may be carried away at a time to and by a dissimulation: the credit of the ministrie ought to be dear to us, but the credite of our Master and his interests ought to be dearer than all things else. The ministrie of the gospel is indeed a great benefite, but nothing hinders why the ministrie of the gospel might not have been had, and not yet be had, without a pulpit and a stipend.

It is an ill made bargain where the one party gets clear gain, the keyes of Christ's house in a manner delivered up to them, and the other is uncertain if God will bless a ministrie purchased at such a rate. If any ministers have had a hand in contriving or procuring that indulgence, I suppose they have done more mischief to the poor Church of Christ in that land than all the prelats and all their hirelings; and if such an indulgence should be offered to, and accepted by, all the outed ministers of the land without a publick testimony, I would look upon it as the most dreadful presage that yet hath appeared of the Lord's totally forsaking of the land. It is not now Episcopacy and ceremonies that is the controversie, but whether Jesus Christ be King of his own Church, which he hath bought with his blood, or if the leviathan of the supremacy shall swallow up all, to which it is all alike, whether it have prelats or presbyters subservient unto it, only it must rule according to its own arbitriment without control, and bring forth yet more and more fruits of all impiety and profanity. A minister that can preach truths which no man questions, and miskens this grand controversie, or speaks of it so darkly as that he discovers he desires not to be understood, I durst not say that in that he is a faithful ambassador of Jesus Christ. Sure if his own reputation were touched, he would speak in a more picquant manner, and his Master's honour should be above his own repute. A bare not agreeing to the accommodation propounded, is not a sufficient evidence of faithfulness at such a time. Sathan counts no great gain of the prelats, nor them that set them up, nor them that follow them; but outed ministers and noted professors would be a great prize to him; and I am sure, winnow as hard as he can, he shall get none that belong unto Christ. O! how sad is it that some to please men, and those the overturners of all the work of God, have laid aside that useful part of reformation and uniformity, the expounding of the Scripture, formerly practised to so much edification, and others mangle it so, as it were as good to forbear it. The excuse of the short days of winter, or the weakness of one's body, may well allow a man to make both the lecture and the preaching

shorter; but on such a pretext to lay it aside, especially being in some sort a case of confession, I fear shall not be allowed before the righteous Judge. If it be said, better have preaching without lecturing nor [than] no preaching at all.—

True, if there be a physical impediment in the way of lecturing, or if all preaching had been by the Lord astricted to such a pulpit by the indulgence of such a creature; but when men come to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they may bring us into bondage, and would inure us to take one of their burdens after another, we ought not to give place by subjection, no not for an hour; for by such arguing, better have preaching without ever citing Isaiah, nor none; better without mentioning the decree of election, or imputed righteousness, nor none at all. Alas! the Lord hath poured on us the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed our eyes, our prophets and our rulers, the seers hath covered. O what a deep wound was it to my heart to hear of a minister, who I think certainly had both true grace and rare gifts, that he so far complied with the course of the time, as to keep a holy day, appointed by men, and drink about the bon-fires! What will be the end of those things? What, when God shall waken the conscience? Our ministers were our glory, and I fear our idol, and the Lord hath stained the pride of our glory. None of us, who are here, and seem to be dissatisfied with some things at home, want conviction of our own grievous miscarriages; and it is probable that if we had been at home, we might have done worse than others. If it were possible, I would desire so to speak for Christ and his interest, as not to reflect on any person, but Levi's dutie and blessing lyes otherways. I profess to you, although I have a real excuse of my inability to debate and argue, without which the propounding of one's mind seems too dictator-like, that yet I have apprehension, that my not writing to some friends makes the guilt of some things done or omitted more mine than theirs. Oh for the day when all of us, whether together or apart, without reflecting on any but our selves, might mourn the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the Valley of Megiddon! I should look on that as Scotland's

great delivery; yea, it is to be most earnestly sought from the Lord, and endeavoured that the whole bulk of the people, and even those who have carried on the defection, might get repentance; so should we be a greater wonder to the world of his matchless mercy, nor now we are of sudden and shameful apostacy. And many such wonders he can work if he please, and we may suppose will work, if there were wrestlers for such a blessing; but that also is his own gift. To him be all glory for ever.

In the close, it will be expected that I give you all some directions how to walk in such a time, and as they come in my mind, I shall set them down. 1. In all things, and above all things, let the Word of God be your only rule, Christ Jesus your only hope, his Spirit your only guide, and his glory your only end. 2. See that each of you apart worship God every day, morning and evening at least; read some of his Word, and call on Him by prayer, and give Him thanks. If ye be straitned with business, it is not so much the length of your prayer that he regards, as the uprightness and the earnestness of the heart; but neglect not the duty; and if ye be without the hearing of others, utter your voice, it is sometime a great help, but do it not to be heard of others; sing also a psalm, or some part of a psalm; ye may learn some by heart for that purpose. 3. Through the whole day labour to set the Lord always before you, as present to observe you, and strengthen you for every duty, and then look over how the day hath been spent before you sleep. 4. Such as have families, set up the worship of God in your families as ye would avoid the wrath that shall be poured on the families that call not on his name. 5. As occasion offers of any honest minister coming alongst, neglect not the same; and on the Lord's Day, go where ye can hear the Word sincerely preached by a sent minister, who will witness against the evils of the time, without which, I apprehend, whatever a man's gifts be, the Lord will not send the blessing. Oxnam is not far off, and I hope Mr Scot doth and will declare for the sworn Reformation, and testify against the present defection; but I dare not bid you hear any of the intruded hirelings, whom they

call curats. I know some good men have heard, or do hear some of them; but I believe, if all fear of inconvenience were removed, they would do otherways. If no occasion of a publick meeting be, or if ye cannot go to it, sanctifie the Lord's Day in your families, or at least each of you in your own heart. 6. Give no occasion to the world to say that ye neglect your calling, or are busie-bodies in other men's matters, or have any doubleness in your worldly dealing; a faithful carriage, free of covetousness, is a great ornament to the profession. 7. Have a care of your children, that they be taught to read, and have Bibles so soon as they can use them, and take them with you to hear the Word preached, and instruct them your selves the more diligently that publick means are scarce. 8. Such as have any leasure, read some good books, whereby ye may profit in knowledge and affection. Read now and then the Covenants, the Confession of Faith, and the Longer Catechism, and the little treatise printed with them. I would recommend to you the writings of Mr Durham, and Mr Binning, and Mr William Guthrie, and Mr Andrew Gray, especially Mr Rutherford's Letters, (I hope shortly ye shall be supplied with some more copies of them,) as also any good pieces from England, as Mr Allan, or the like. I dare not recommend Baxter to you, he is a dangerous man. Let Chasters and Standhil buy some such as they can, and lend them to others to be read. 9. Any thoughts ye have of the business of the time, examine them well by the Word, and present them oft to God by prayer; and what ye get so confirmed, be not easily moved therefrom, although some ministers should be of a contrar opinion; for in those days sundrie of the common people have clearer light and steadier practice than some ministers; but be not proud or self-willed in your own opinion. 10. By any means see that ye be not drawn to a contempt of the ministry, or ministers in whom any thing of God really appeareth, although some might have sliden in an hour of temptation; but study all lawful ways of union and healing, yet so as ye approve nothing which the Word and your conscience condemn. 11. Strengthen your selves in the main grounds of reli-

gion against Popery, and read some short treatises for that purpose; ye know not but it may be a great part of the tryal of the time. 12. Some ministers have begun of late to question Christ's imputed righteousness—look upon these, whatever shew they make of moderation and accurat walking, as enemies to Jesus Christ and the salvation of souls. 13. Keep you far, very far, from this last device of Satan's—quakerism, which, under colour of sobriety and patience, overthrows all the grounds of Christian religion; and, indeed, they should not be looked on as Christians: themselves and the light within them, which is also in all Pagans, is all their Saviour; converse not with them; as much as ye can, avoid conference with them; the evil spirit that is in them desires no better nor continual wrangling: many are much mistaken if there be not much devilry among them, as some com'd off from them have testified. 14. I know the course ceaseth now that was taken for providing the poor with meat; but after your ability, set apart some of your means for the poor; I mean not the sturdy vagabounds, but poor housholders, especially those that have any good in them. 15. Deal in all earnestness and love with any of your neighbours, whom ye perceive in a way that will destroy their souls. Visite your neighbours in their sickness, and drop somthing for their souls' good. 16. Let such as have been elders, and have not run the wicked course of the time, know that their obligation ceaseth not, but rather is increased to visite and oversee the flock, and warn and comfort, as occasion requires. 17. Forget not Christ's command to love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you. Many a time our carnal anger and bitterness puts on a disguise as if it were zeal; true love to God and our neighbour would prompt us to many duties that now are forgot, and to a better way of doing duties, and yet keep us from being partakers of other men's sins. 18. Guard your hearts from a carnal disposition in speaking or hearing of the miscarriages of others, and let not that be all the matter of your discourse, howbeit it may be part; but there is more edifying to be speaking of what is good. 19. I hear there is a rare work of grace begun of late in some, not far from

you, in the borders of Northumberland; I judge it were for your advantage, if some of you, such as are able, went thither to be acquainted with them. Your friend, Henry Hall, would easily make your acquaintance; their fire-edge might help to kindle up old sitten-up professors; yea, if some of you, who are yet graceless, would go and see their way, they might be smitted with that blessed disease.

I fear ye shall hardly read my hand, and yet it hath taken near by as many days to write as there are pages; but it was not fitting to make use of any other's hand.

Let this letter be read to all of the parish, who will be willing to hear it, and to any that are gone out of it, as Andrew Burkholme and Margaret Walker, or any that used ordinarly to meet with us, as Mrs Eliot, Isabel Simpson, and such others. I know there is a great change since I left you, by the death of some, and coming in of others; but I am sometimes refreshed to look over the roll of the parish as it was when I left you. Desire from me Mr Henry, and Mr William Erskin, or any other of that sort, to come now and then to visite and water you. I could wish that when ye hear of any honest merchant in Edinburgh, or any other coming hither, some of you would give them a particular account of both good and evil, to bring to me. I had a little account lately from John Totcha, that made me both joyful and sad. I shall write when any of my sons are to come over, that if they can they will come to you a day or two, and bring me information how it is with you. Now, as I can at this distance, I embrace you all, and all that used to join with us at our communions. I salute you all, I bless you all, I commend you all to God and the Word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified. The rich and powerful grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Thus wisheth

Your loving and lawful Pastor,

JOHN LIVINGSTONE.

Rotterdam, 7th October 1671.

LETTERS

OF

MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE

RELATING TO THE

PUBLIC EVENTS OF HIS TIME.

LETTERS

OF

MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE

RELATING TO THE

PUBLIC EVENTS OF HIS TIME.

No. I.

LETTER *from* Mr JOHN LIVINGSTONE *to* Mr T. WYLLIE *when going to Ireland, March* 17, 1641.[1]

REVEREND AND LOVING BROTHER,—Mr John and Mr George Dick came hither from Irland yesterday. I have likewayes receaved letters from the Commission of the Assemblie to addresse myself over presently with Carthland and Sir William Cochran, who are sent by the Parliament to procure some forces from our army in Irland, to come presently over, and to assist them herein what I can. Therefor I mynd, God willing, to take the first opportunitie of passage, and would desyre you to make all the hast

[1] Wodrow MSS., vol. xxix. 4to, No. 15. It is in Livingstone's own handwriting.

you can to come over. I thought to have stayed a litle till wee might have had the ordinance of the Lord's Supper here; but this other advertisement, and the coming over of them were last there, maks I cannot. When you come to the Port, I know you will help this desolate people if you be stayed on the Lord's day. Looking to see you shortly beyond, and praying for the Lord's blessing to your labours there, and where you are, I rest,

Your loving Brother,

JO. LIVINGSTONE.

Stranrawer, 17 March 1641.

No. II.

LETTER *from* MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE *to* LORD WARRISTON, *from Breda.*[1]

MUCH AND MOST WORTHILY HONORED,—I can say no more of our businesse then is writen in our publick letter to Mr Douglasse, which I know will be imparted to your Lordship.[2] ————, ————, and ————, are here as some of the Presbiterians of England. They do not inclyne that the king be urged with the League and Covenant, and, as I hear of some, say that any ordinance wes for it in England is expired, and doeth not now binde. What to make of this I know not. It is like the king come to Scotland whether we agree or not. O what a company is about him! the quintessence of all that were thought evill counsellors befor, and how either he will forsake them, or they leave him, I know not. Yesterday, D. Buckingham and Marq. Newcastle came to him. Looke to yourselfs, and trust in God. I cannot

[1] Wodrow MSS., vol. lxvii. folio, No. 98. The original.

[2] The names are uncertain.

promise what this treaty may bring forth. The Lord grant wee may returne with a good conscience. I am, my Lord, yours in all service,

JO. LIVINGSTONE.

Breda, 26 March, / 5 April, } 1650.

No. III.

LETTER *from* THOMAS WYLLIE *to* MARGARET GORDON, *in Mauchline, containing a Letter of* JOHN LIVINGSTONE'S *to* ROBERT DOUGLAS.[1]

MY DEAREST LOVE,—Grace, mercie, and peace, be with you. I am detained here by ane ordinance of the Commission very sore against my will. I have used meanes to come off, bot to no purpose as yet. This day the king is to be at Aberdeen. All the commissioners are with him. The malignants landed some farder north than the king. The papers came not to our commissionars' hands in Holland till they were goeing to ship. The malignants maks this the excuse of their comeing, as some of their privat letters speaks. The commissionars' letter to the Parliament was read before the Commission this forenoone, and Mr Livingstone's letter to Mr Robert Douglas. Both were to one purpose. The tenor of the last is as followes :—

From a boord the Sluidam of Amsterdam, laying at anchor at the mouth of Spey, Sabbath, 23 June 1650.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,—About 10 or 11 a'clock, we came to anchor after much tosseing. All the particulars mentioned

[1] Wodrow MSS., vol. xxix. 4to, No. 45. Original.

in your last letters are holpen; and the king hath granted all desyred, and this day hath sworne and subscribed the two Covenants in the words of your last declaration, and with assurance to renew the same at Edinburgh when desyred. What difficulties we have had, and what deliveries, wee hope to impart at meeting. For the heart, the Lord judgeth, bot for the outward part, I think you shall not desiderat anything. I say no more. Mr Hutcheson is goeing to sermon, and we are not to goe a shoare till to-morrow. The Lord's blessing be on his work and people, and you all.

(*Subscribitur*) Your loving Brother,

JOHNE LIVINGSTONE.

The Parliament's return to the commissionars was read also, and the act against the malignants is sent with it enclosed. I wish a fair wind to them. If ye can get money to me with William Reed it will be weel. I will be kept out of debt. Remember me to my sister and litell Margrat. The grace of the Lord be with you all. I am yours in a double bond, in Christ,

THOMAS WYLLIE.

Edinburgh, 27 June 1650.

No. IV.

Part of a LETTER *written by* Mr J. LIVINGSTONE *to a Person of Quality, after a Protestation given in against the last Assembly.*[1]

O what matter of praise is it that the Lord hath prepared for himselfe a testimony at that Assembly! Yea, everything, every-

[1] Wodrow MSS., vol. xxix. 4to, No. 51. A copy. The letter seems to refer to the business at the Assembly indicted to meet at St Andrews in July 1651, and which was transferred to Dundee. James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, and James Simpson, the leaders of the Protesters, were there deposed. Livingstone adhered to the principles of that party.

thing is matter of praise, altho' wee should not see ane Assembly in our days, as possibly, ere the yeare be over, wee may see one, for the hop and joy of the hypocrit in these dayes uses not to last long, and those that be indeed sincere will not ere long rew their not joyning with them. Certainely, above all the sines of the land, the want of observation of his work and blessing of his name amongst his owne is the greatest. Many of the churches abroad differ not much from standing watters. He will send sometymes amongst us land-floods that will fill the breadth of Emmanuell's land, and yet when they speak the word it shall not stand! I beleeve, and in part I know, that both ministers and professoures abroad wold gladly accept of our difficulties and distresses on condition they got bot part of the purity, power, and deliverances he gives us. But our reformation is a hot fyre, and will cast out the scum oft and much. I wold faine hop the bursting out of the profanity and perversnes of many is Satan's last throwings before he be cast out; and yet when our deliverance is come, (for it will come, yea is,) wee will rebell againe. Christ's coming will end the strife. O for hearts to judg aright of him, to wait for him and blisse him, for in all these his circuitions, he is taking the only compendious way for the weelfare of his owne. Wee shall say, *Periissemus si non periissemus.* Now his rich grace be with your Lordship, and blessed is he that is so. I rest your Lordship's most obliged servant,

Jo. L[IVINGSTONE.]

Ankrum, July 1651.

No. V.

LETTER *from* Mr JOHN LIVINGSTONE *to* ROBERT BLAIR.[1]

[The following letter has no signature. But Wodrow conjectures that it is Livingstone's, and there is strong internal evidence that it is so. Livingstone tells us in his Life, that when appointed a commissioner to wait on Charles the Second at Breda, he was reluctant to go from his unfitness for debates; and in this letter he says, "I am most unfit for debating any thing." In his Life he informs us he was the disciple of "precious Mr Blair" when at college, and in this letter he says the same thing, and speaks in the highest terms of respect for Blair. In his Life he tells us he was absent from a number of the meetings of the Protesters, and in this letter he states that he was absent from the meeting which appointed him to converse with Mr Blair. In the Wodrow MSS. there follows this letter, a letter addressed by Blair to Livingstone, dated Dec. 2, 1651, which contains apparently allusions to some things in this, and seems to have been written in answer to it. Farther, it appears from comparing this letter with another original letter of Livingstone's, that this is in his handwriting. It was no doubt a copy of the letter which he sent to Blair.]

To Mr R. BLAIR.

Nov. 1651.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,—The meeting of ministers that was in Edinburgh in October last did, the last day of their

[1] Wodrow MSS., vol. lix. folio, No. 3. Indorsed in the same handwriting as the letter "1651. Copy Letter to Mr Robert Blair, whom a meeting at Edinburgh had appoynted me to go confer with." And in the handwriting of Wodrow, it is added, "Copy (I suppose under Mr Livingstone's hand of his) Letter to Mr Robert Blair, Nov. 1651."

meeting, appoynt me, when I was not present with them, to join with Mr Rob. Trail and Mr Patr. Gillespie, and come for conferring with you anent the present unhappy differences.[1] I would be loath to refuse any burden they layd on, and would be most glad of any opportunity to be refreshed, as many a tym I have been, in your company, from whom I have always returned bettered one way or other. I knew not of this till they were dissolved. Had I been present, I am confident I would have moved them to forbear laying on me such an employment at such a tyme, because, as you know better then any other, I am most unfitt for debating any thing, if that business should requyre debates, and the more unfitt toward you, seeing the impression I had in the colledge (which I cannot get shaken off while I live) of being your disciple, maks I could not well have the face *coram* to enter in any contradiction. This made my mynd at that tyme averse, and I had a necessity to come home immediately to be at our synod, where I was to preach. Since my horse is so lame, I could not adventure a day's journey on him. I have some other difficulties which I could not at this distance impart; but these things have made that I have layd aside thoughts of coming at this time. I know, Sir, you will not ascribe this to disrespect. I may say, now that my father is at rest, there is not a man on earth to whom my obligation, or of whom my estimation is greater. Blindnesse and bitternesse is the plague of this tyme, but I cannot conceal that your and Mr David Dickson's accession to the bypast publick resolutions hath been, in my accompt, the saddest thing I have seen in my tyme. I may be mistaken in matter of . . . . . or of equity, but this you may beleeve, that my poor wyfe and I have had more bitterness in that respect now these severall months, that ever we had since we could discern what bitterness meant; and with how sore a heart I writ this I cannot well expresse, neither can I at this time get any more said of that subject. Only I am very hopefull the Lord is about, after all this that hath comed on us, to bring forth some

[1] This refers to the differences between the Resolutioners and Protesters.

great, great good, which, without these things, we could not have been fitted to receave. I salute your wyfe and children and our friends there; and am.

No. VI.

LETTER *from* Mr JOHN LIVINGSTONE *to a* FRIEND.[1]

DEAR FRIEND,—This being a dismall time, wherein great wrath hath justly come forth from the Lord against us, he is provoked to cover the daughter of our Zion with a cloud, and turn the day of the gospell into a day of gloominess and darkness; wherein, alas! we have not only willingly left our guide, and left our way, but also are drowned in a deep swown of spirituall slumber, like one fallen from a high place, and so damnished that he can neither clearly consider where he is or what is his duetie. And I find strong convictions within my bosom of my great failling (because of deadnes and darknes, and carnall mindednes) to proclaim and trumpet out the matchlesse love of Christ to sinners, and to wooe the bossom of sinners into the bossom of his love. And O that my dozened and carnall heart were so inflamed, that it were kindling many friends with sparkles of his love! I do beseech you, in the bosom of his love, make it your studie to be often trying and making sure the root of the matter is in you. If there be a failling in the root, the fruit will soon be rotten at the heart. Examine, "Give all diligence to make your calling and election sure." O what strengthning cheerfulnes is there to be found in feeding upon the meditation of his first espousals, when you and I were wallowing in our souls' blood! O what inexpressible sweetnes! to be

[1] Wodrow MSS., vol. xxvii. 4to, No. 18. This letter has no date, but was probably written after Charles II. was restored, when the persecution commenced.

often reading over the marriage-contract, and all the articles of the poor-rich believer's juncture, wherein, if there be a misse on our part, (for there is none on his,) there is time as yet to fill it up. Can ye tell me what a ripe cluster of the vine that groweth in glorie's land it is, to read over with the spectacles of faith all the promises, all the mercies? Such a promise is mine, and the blessing with it; such a mercy is mine, and the blessing with it; such a crosse is mine, and the sweet kirnell of the blessing under the sour slough that is without. But O! what is all this but the off-fallings and latter meat beside Himself? Himself the flower, the garland, the quintescence of glory. O to find, without a beguile, Himself subscribing by his Spirit upon my soul, I will betroth thee to myself, I will be thy God and husband, and he subscribing for me! Thou shalt be one of my chosen people, and my soul, and all that is within me, saying, Amen, amen; even so, come, Lord Jesus, even so, I take Him to be my married husband, my God and my Lord. What remaineth then, but I am my welbeloved's, and my welbeloved is mine? O to throng in and to eat greedily of this banquet of love! It is a wonder that the soul crieth not out as once precious old Mr Welch did upon something the like, Had, Lord, enough, I dow bear no more. O for a sweet fill of this fanatick humor!

Tell me, do ye desire (as I doubt not but ye do) to have eyes to see, hands to act, feet to walk, wings to flee in all commanded duties? Here it is—be often trying, and making sure, and reading over the beginning and progresse of his love to you, and of yours to him. But in self-triall, it is good to have a speciall care that gifts come not in the ballance with grace; for that is too gross a wither-weight. Lay by the painted case, when you weigh the jewell. O how hard is it to discern and judge, as upon the one hand, how a precious sparke of upright walk may be hid under the rubbish of an rough-some nature, so, on the other hand, how a sweet, soft, tender, naturall temper, may prove but a glistering piece of the bastard rock! Yet it is long agoe (I bless the Lord on your behalf) since I had hope, and now am verie confident, that there is mutuall and

covenanted-love between you and the beloved. Weigh your receipt of all sorts, weigh it to a graine weight, deny nothing of it, (but O, to be denied to it!) and remember often, that ye must give account of your stewardship, and answere how ye have improven everie penny of everie talent ye enjoy. To whom much is forgiven, of them much shall be required. When ye and I shall get any clear sight of our deservings, we will have cause (though the Lord hath sometimes hid his face) to close our song of praise thus, The Lord hath dealt bountifully with us. Yet I do beseech you, rest not satisfied with any length ye have attained to; sit not down, stand not still, but labour to grow in all the dimensions of an upright love, till ye come to the full stature, which will be when ye are transplanted to the Paradise beside the tree of life, upon the banks of the river of glory, that are at his right hand for evermore. Press forward, ay till ye obtaine the prise and crown. A Christian course is either ebbing or flowing. O! [how] do some strive to grow in riches, others to grow in court and honour? Yea, the verie wicked makes it his glory to grow in wickedness; only the backgone Christian is easily put off if he can keep life in the play.

And grow in the adorning grace of humility, which fitteth the back for everie burden, and maketh the tree sickerest at the root, when it standeth upon the top of the windie hill. This is the true palm-tree that groweth the statliest and strongest, when many weights are hung on it to bear it down. Look often upon your lesson, your copie, and your teacher, all in one: Learn of me, for I am meek and lowlie. O, how often have I resolved to be more humble, when the Lord hath preferred me to some favour! And yet, when the temptation came, my wofull heart hath made that verie favour a leaping-on stone for my pride to ride on horseback, that went a-foot before.

And I pray you, labour to be rich in the royal grace of believing. Ah, how justly may Christ upbraid his passingers of this generation, O ye of little faith? And although possibly ye be not much sensible of pinshing want here, and have not met with much brangling, yet gather and lay up much, for ye know not how soon

the time of famine may come, that will eat out the remembrance of your plentie, and tempt you to say that ye but dreamed it. The fresh water mariner is stout enough in fair weather. O, to believe in the dark and stormy midnight, that the sun will comfortably rise to-morrow! O, to win to trust in him, when his hand thrusts me and my comforts thorow the heart! They that know thee will put their trust in thee. How seasonable is that petition now, Lord, increase our faith?

And when the soul wins to the lively exercise of believing, O, but then there will be much loving. She loved much, because she believed much was forgiven her. When the believer wins to any clear discoverie of the beloved, he needs neither promises to allure, nor maranathas to curse him in to the love of Christ. When the litle bit of britle glasse is laid open, and looketh directly to the sun, "We all with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." When faith findeth Christ, and getteth leave to embrace him, then weak love hath strong armes to hold him, and thinks not shame to wrestle him home to his mother's house. And then when faith and love acts the soul, I do assure you it is like new wine working on the mother, that must have a vent of praises, or else be ready to burst at the broad side. Alas! for that capitall crime of the Lord's people—barrenness in praises. O, how fully am I perswaded, that a line of praises is worth a leaf of prayer, and an hour of praises is worth a day of fasting and mourning! Yet there is room enough for both. But O! what a massie piece of glory on earth is it to have praises looking as it were out at the eyes, praises written upon the fore brow; to have the verie breath smelling of praises, to have praises engraven on the palmes of their hands, and the impression of praises on everie footstep of the walk—although this be that day (if ever) wherein the Lord calleth to mourning and fasting! And ah, alase! there be an answere writen upon every room of chambering and wantonnes, upon the doores of tavernes, hostlier houses, and mercat crosses. They arose up to

play. Sore carriages after the play. Yet I say, O, how sweet and sutable is it to tune up the heart with the 101st Psalm,—I will sing of mercie and of judgment! The most heavenly Christian is most in praises. And blesse the Lord, I beseech you, who hath fitted you and your worthie friends about you, in any measure, to testify your praises in the practise of charitie. O, what a rich favour is it to be admitted and made capable to refresh the hungrie bowels, and cloath the naked loines of your precious Redeemer! Dear friend, you know some when they crossed Jordan, had no more but their staff to speak of, and are now blessed with a large portion of Jacob's inheritance, either in penny or pennieworth. O, there is nothing so sure to you, I can assure you, of all your enjoyments, as the bread that is casten on the waters! O, how sickerly is that laid up from the reach of the roughest hands! and O, what a rich income bringeth it in the end of the day!

Be much in secret wrestling. Ah! how much am I affrayed that publick professors, and private professors, and societie professors, and kirk professors, and family professors, prove but painted sepulchres, for want of secreet wrestling, which is indeed the best prevailing way, and most free of muddie ingredients. Ay trail the verie deadned backdrawing heart before Him, and resolve to let it die among his feet, if he will but strengthen it to wrestle. O! but the noble Advocat maketh it clear in heaven, that this, even this, is a valiant wrestling. And the more weaknes there is in our performances, if there be sincerity, the more of strength is let forth for the making up of our wants. Blessed be the sinner's second! And ye will hardly believe, but I hope ye know how soon a verie drowsie sleeping Jacob is turned to a prevailling Israel, "I will not let thee go, till thou bless me." Let the second verse of the first Psalm be made your heart's practice without a beguile. O! suck frequently and greedily the milk of the word, that your soul may grow thereby; especially the Book of the Psalms, that doth indeed containe a cure for every case ye can be tristed with. As also the gospell-prophet Isaias, that proclaimeth the best news that ever was in

heaven or the earth, to lost sinners. But O! eat up and digest the precious historie of his life and death, contained in the Evangelists, till it turn (if I may so say) into flesh and blood to you. Come here and wonder, and believe the lively, living, yea, life-giving map of his matchless love. Remember to watch. Here is not only wyllie foxes, but also roaring lyons, which are but emblems of the deceitfull and desperatly wicked heart. Labour to keep a spirituall frame in all your wayes. What a sappie life were it to the merchand or the tradesman, when walking before his shop-door, or in the chamber at night, or ryding out the way? Then the meditation of Him shall be sweet. And when the hand is bussie in giving out and taking in, and writing up, then keep a great hank of the heart in heaven, "For our conversation is in heaven." Surely this would prove unexpressibly sweet and easie too, if we had past our prenticeship in it.

Beware of the witch world that will make a witche's hinder end. Ye know how inconsistent the love of the world is with the love of Christ. O how many do I see play the witlesse child that is like to break his neck to get the bird from the nest, and flattereth it a while, and it fluttereth on him a while, till it get wings, and then hynd goes it: or, at the best, like the butterflie that is hunted after and dotted on; but stay till the painted wings of capacitie to enjoy be plucked off, then the bonie butterflie is nothing but a grusome worm that is troublesome and a burden to the bairn.

Beware, I pray you, of predominants, these devils that cannot be cast out but by fasting and prayer. Alas! that it should be truly said, He is a good man, but he is verie greedie—he is a Christian man, but exceeding proud. Lord blot out the blotting *but* in the believer's testimoniall. O valiant conqueror: I keept myself from mine iniquitie. Forget not to set apart sometimes, or keep those that are set apart. If our precious king Josias be killed in his ordinances, in the power and puritie of his gospell, it wel becometh all his friends to be frequent in Zecharie's mournings. Here are, indeed, the most destructive arms against the adversarie. O what matter of mourning and bitter lamenta-

tion to see with thir eyes of ours the slaughtering execution of that dolefull threatning, John viii. 21. Alas! the glorious hedge is not only plucked up, and the carved worke cutted down, but also how many thousands of old ones rotting to dead in their ignorance, and none to cry them out of their dead-thraws, and how many thousand young ones hasting, and root-growing in black nature and profanitie, because there are none travelling in birth. Let me but in sobrietie pose, without any spark of malice, (I know in whose name I write it,) those reverend stepfathers of the Kirk, under whose hands so many of the poor children perish, if they feed on or taste the venison of a converted soul to Christ among all their daintie dishes? Are they to be blamed for it? How can they or their under-hunters catch that which is not their proper prey? But all that have half an eye open knowes that this hath been alwayes poor Scotland's plague of plagues during the time of the prelats' densie reigne, which will be most compleetly cured by praying, fasting, and mourning them down. And rest not alone herein. A threefold cord is not easily broken. Where two or three are gathered together. That verie *Then* is now writen upon all dispensations—*then* the Lord's people spake often one to another. I have known two or three make a societie that have been instrumentall in converting some, and confirmed severall. Strive for peace with all men in the Lord: I mean not if any shall break open doores, and banish out the married husband, defile the marriage bed, and abuse the children in a high degree, and then command the chast but forced wife not only to cast the contract with her lawfull husband in the fire, but also to subscribe all dutifull obedience to him. No, no, by your leave, Sir B., though ye were a lord of velvet, it is much, if not excessive, condescendency, if she bid you go to doores in peace. I pray you be very peremptorie in the Lord's strength to stick strictly to your resolutions and engagements. Vow and pay. Ah! how often have I observed my resolutions to flee high like an eagle, but my performances to creep laigh and slow like a snail!

Above all things, remember Zion: set to your seall and amen

to the fifth verse of the 137th Psalm. Alas! what pleasure can I take in cield houses, in soft beds, or daintie fare, while, when I am walking alone or lying down, or finding the sweet relish of meat and drink, I think I hear precious Zion a-begging at the door, all in ragges, and her vail torn, mourning out her complaint, Remember me, remember me: defloured, defloured, and dare not so much as crie to testifie my innocencie, under highest paines. But when doores on earth are closest, then heaven's gates are widest open. Therefore, when ye are admitted to the banqueting-house, and his banner over you [is] love, when his left arme is under your head, and his right arme doth embrace you, then put up many love sutes for Zion. Let none take the noble crown of your profession from you, or marre it in the least; for the crown of truth is the crown of crowns. I am verie sure there is none of the friends of Christ that steps aside but they may hear the voice of their lovelie King crying after them, Will ye also leave me? How many have I seen that have ventured to loose but one buckle, that have found themselves upon a shooting brae or on an ycie hill.

Buy the truth, and sell it not. Be encouraged: I assure you it is a downcoming mercat by hundreds and thousands, as I could easily clear, although the followers of Christ must prigge and stand upon a hoof or an hairbreadth, for I know little difference betwixt pennies and pounds in selling any of the precious interests of Christ. I shall not take upon me to determine if there be anything indifferent; but I dare paund mine immortall soul, that whoever has any spark of love to Christ, that keeps at greatest distance from the faillings and fallings of the times, shall have greatest peace at the end of the day: an unce weight then is worth a pound now. I will not force the faith of any to date the day of a deliverie from that day of the deepest sufferings of many of the Lord's people. But I am sure enough that the strength and standing of some (I say nothing here either of king, court, or councell) that verie time received a fatall blow, that hath made their strength and standing to pine away from day to day till now. And though they should put off for many dayes, it will be their dead at last. And although there

may be much stickling to fix themselves, and bear down that which makes them groundlesly affrayed, what if it be but among the throbs of their languishing and decaying crueltie? Is it not clear that a part of the kirk of Christ hath been wrestling under a great feaver, viz., Come, O physicians of value, consult and consider whether or not she hath goten a kyndlie cool, much blood and much sweating, and though there may be a relapse, yet not unto death, not unto death? Whether the Lord on a sudden will in his own time restore her wonted health, or let her dwine out of her disease; but after two dayes He will revive us, and we shall live in his sight. Though the vision tarry, yet wait for it, it shall not tarry. O, come, let us return, &c. It is true I fear a furnace seven times hoter, many drawing in an inundation and deluge of a storm from some other arth. Yet I do believe there will be some differencing marks (if it come) betwixt the chastisements of the godly and the judgments of the wicked. Yet I know nothing that will prevent it, but either the conditionall offer of Sodom and Gomorrha, or that unparalled preservative that followeth the 17th verse of the lvii. of Isaiah. However, blessed, O blessed is the man or woman that dwells in love; for he that dwells in love, dwells in God. And believe it, His love needeth no epistle of commendation. Come, all Christians, and spread forth all your experiences and manifestations of his love, and declare all that you ever heard or read of it. There is yet an unfound world of his love. O angels, that live among the treasure, tell the weight and measure of his love if ye can. Take the starres of heaven to be your counters, adde all drops that are in the sea, the pickles of sand that are on the shore, and the piles of grass that are in the earth. Sit down (for ye dow not stand till ye have done) and summe the count of his love. No, no, give it over, give it over, it cannot be summed. Men and angels may wonder themselves in the deepth of it, but the deepth of it cannot be believed to the full. "O the highth and deepth." O friends, for Christ's sake, wrestle yourselves in to the royall banquet of his love. Eat and drink aboundantly, and welcome. This stuffing holds out storm indeed. O strangers,

come and taste. O incarnat devils, (while ye are yet incarnat,) come and taste. There is hope, there is hope. I do declare it, a tasting of it can make saints of devils. O pray much, that faith may be to you the evidence of things not seen, which represents things past and to come as present. Suppose ye had seen him tempted and carried here and there by the devill. Suppose ye had been with him in the garden, or standing under the crosse, and let the soul cry out, "What manner of love is this?" When sinlesse nature did sinlesly scunder at the infinite ugsomenes of the cup of wrath,—"Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me." Then, even then, love set all the wheells of desire on worke to drink it out for sinners. "With desire have I desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer." He outstripped them all, when he was on his way, and set his foot upon the belly of Peter's unkyndly kyndnes, for he was in a marriage haste. Suppose he had been asked, Lord, what moveth thee so innocently to suffer all this? He would have answered, Love, love, love to sinners. But is it for such a lost worm? Such a man by name and surname, such a woman by name and surname? Yes, yes, yes. When justice came with a direfull stroak of infinite wrath to your poor soul and mine, the blessed Lord did interpose his blessed soul to receive the blow, and crieth, Justice, strike here! pointing at his owne heart,[1] by whose stripes we were healled. O dear friend, wrap yourself, O wrap yourself in this sea of salvation. Let men and devils swimme after you to harm you, be not affrayd, they cannot live in that; that is not their element. O be conquered and led captive by this love. Let it be your delight to be love's prisoners, that so ye may attaine the most noble freedome in heaven or in earth. I say no more, but (with what goodwill my poor heart can reach to) I do seriously, in the bowels of Christ, beseech you, yea, I do obtest you before God, by all the bands of his love to you, and all the bands of your obligations to him, by your appearing before him in the great day, and by your eternall enjoying of him-

[1] In the MS., instead of the word, there is the figure of a heart.

self in glory, that ye labour to be much in his love, and lay yourself much out for his love. And the goodwill of Him that dwelt in the bush, the grace, mercy, and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, rest upon you, your family, and all the honest friends of Christ acquainted or unacquainted about you.

Jo. Livingstone.[1]

No. VII.

Letter *from* Mr John Livingstone, *without date.*[2]

Grace and mercie be multiplied on you from the Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord, and upon all the fainting, trembleing-hearted sons and daughters of Zion, who have resolved to hang their harps upon the willowes, till the Lord bring back your captivitie as the streames of the South. Blessed are all those that wait upon him. He is bringing his people into a nonsuch strait, which will only make way for giving proof of his soveraignity over the hearts of his people, in the cureing their distempers; for as he hes evidenced that he hes seen his people's way, and is displeased therewith, so also will he heal the same, and restore straight paths for his people to walk in, and will in his mercie and pitie hear [bear?] them, and redeem them as in the dayes of old, that so the enemie shall not alwayes have libertie to make their mouth wide in blaspheming. Our storm is like to be sharp, and swell so that it will try the footing of all; yet am I hopefull in the Lord, that he is but about the laying of a fair foundation for more presently making up the new building, and is but laying a fair pavement for

[1] In perusing this letter, one is so irresistibly reminded of the style, genius, and fervour of Rutherford, as almost to conclude that it is his production.

[2] Wodrow MSS., vol. ix. 8vo, No. 17.

the chariot-wheel of his gospel to run more swiftly and gloriously upon, with less difficulty than ever heretofore; and I think I may apply that word in Numbers 23d, of Balaam's time—it shall be said concerning the people of God in these lands, O what hath God wrought! It shall bring matter of admiration to all that hear of the great works of God anent his truths, and the deliveries of his people, and blessed shall they be who shall come cleanly through the present tryell. Our fathers hes not seen such glorious dayes of life from the dead, as some of this generation shall see. Our fathers digged the well by supplications and wrestleings, and their children shall drink of the sweet refreshing springs of bright clear running salvation. When I think upon the glorious lightsome dayes the people of God shall have a little hence, the matter of astonishing admiration to me, I cannot word my thoughts of it. I think I see them altogether as ane amazed people, drunk with astonishment through the goodness of the Lord; I think the matter of joy shall be so ravishinglie astonishing, as many of the choice people of God, who have gotten grace formerly to believe that they have a right to the joyes of heaven, shall question whether they have a right to partake of such unspeakable consolation, wherewith the friends of Zion shall then be filled. So astonishing shall it be, it shall be a thing that hath not been told, and shall hardlie enough be believed when seen; so that the people of God shall be as in the 126th Psalm—when the Lord turned their captivitie, they wondered whether it could be true that they found, or if they were but laughing in their sleive.[1]

I add this, that the people of God shall meet with that, Isa. lxii. Howbeit, darkness shall cover the earth, yet the Lord will arise for his poor contemned covenanted partie in these lands, and their afflicters shall be made to acknowledge them to be the only godlie partie, whom now they call hypocrites and treasonable persons, when his people hes bidden the furnace, as in Dan. iii. 28, that the heathen king must cry out, "Blessed be the God of Shadrach,

[1] The word sleep is written over the word *sleive*.

Meshach, and Abed-nego, who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants that trusted in him, and have changed the king's word, and yielded their bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any god except their own God." And as Daniel was delivered out of the lyons' [den,] his God is magnified. Yea, I will adventure to say this, that the light shall goe out from covenanted and married Zion, and shall shine on this kingdom now in darkness, as it's said, Isa. lx. Kings shall come at the brightness of thy riseing, they shall gather themselves together, and come in bands and bragades, so that then the people of God shall [gather] together as astonished at his mercie, their hearts shall fear, and be enlarged. I add this more, that our banished shall be brought back, and shall abide as married; see Isa. lxii., &c. Yea, further, I will adventure upon the Lord's hand to say this also, that forraigne nations shall make diligent enquiry for Zion's banished and scattered friends, that they may send them honourably home, and this they shall doe to insinuate in Zion's favor, so great esteem shall be had of Zion's favor that day. I will further say, that many abroad shall be blyth to come and joyn with us in building of the Lord's work of reformation. O Zion, wearie not of thy life, but desire to outlive the storm, that thou mayst see that blessed peace upon Israel; and blessed shall they be that shall win cleanlie through this storm.

SAYINGS AND OBSERVATIONS

OF

MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE,

LATE MINISTER OF THE GOSPELL AT ANCRAM.

COLLECTED FROM HIS OWN MANUSCRIPT.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

REMARKS AT TWO COMMUNIONS,

DECEMBER 1634.

SAYINGS AND OBSERVATIONS

OF

MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE,

LATE MINISTER OF THE GOSPELL AT ANCRAM.[1]

EVERY bowing of the knee is not a honouring of Christ, Matth. xxvii. 29: so many, when they think they are praying, are but mocking Christ.

It is the want of love makes me in company condescend to worldly and idle conferrence, and not behave myself as a servant of Christ.

Christ's humane nature, that before his passion was availed to obscure his Godhead, is now as a transparent lantern of glass wherethrough we may see his Godhead.

Christ in dying went to meet death, whereas death meets us.

A soul that loves Christ will be homlier with him than with any else; so that it will speak to him that which, if they said to any other, they might perhaps accuse as treason.

When one is under defection, if he be not so much the more carefull to use the means, but become careless, it may be he fall into a dangerous sin; for the Lord deserts to try us, to see if we will stick to him.

[1] Wodrow MSS., vol. xviii. 4to, No. 13.

The Lord will let his own sometymes fall into those sins they most fear and loath, because that when he gives grace and strength to abstain from these, they doe not so well mark and mourn for other sins.

Quodcunque legas, sit semper Scriptura Sacra opsonium.

When the minde is full of light, the heart is full of love, and the conscience full of peace.

I am persuaded if it were possible that I could goe to hell, yet Christ would come to it to seek me, and raike the coals of it to get me out. Mr Rob. Ham[ilton.]

After prayer, I am to look back and recapitulat what petitions God hath put in my mouth, and these I am to account as blessings promised, and to look for the performance.

Finding myself, as I thought, sorely deserted, and somewhat hardly dealt with in my particular state, I made a promise to God not to tell it to any but to himself, lest I should seem to complain or foster misbelief in myself or others.

It would seem concerning conformity urged, or any part of it, that embraceing thereof is ane obeying of humane devices in God's worship imposed and urged by these who have no authority from Christ, but rather from Antichrist; which obedience, since it is transgressing of a negative precept, may in no sort be yielded to; whereas in some sort, and in some cases, and some circumstances, that which is bidden in ane affirmative precept may be left undone.

Whence comes it that one and the self-same thought coming in the minde at one time is not much regarded, nor does not satisfie the minde; whereas at another time, perhaps either before or after, it is very pregnant and pleasant, and of singular good use? It is because at one time the thoughts comes only alone, not backed with clearness and proving, and with the society of other thoughts that are annexed with it as at other times;—or because at one time it is only represented to the minde by our natural spirit, and not also by God's Spirit, as at other times;—or because it is objected [presented] to the understanding when it is not in good case to consider of it as at other times;—or may it not also be

said that when the understanding is in best case, it is not so easily satisfied with any thought, but alwayes seeking somewhat more eminent?

We that are defiled with so great pollution, is it not a wonder that our words in prayer, which almost dye in the coming out of our lips, should speill so well, and climb so well or high as to goe into heaven to bring us back ane answer? Mr Rob. Blair.

I care not to be always in bonds and grief in secret, if the yoke be taken off when I goe forth to God's work in publick. If it were given to my option, the Lord knows I would rather, if it were possible, live a godly life to honour God, and thereafter goe to hell, then live to the dishonour of God, although with assureance to goe to heaven in end.

If ane evill nature and great abuse of grace be reason to make me to distrust God, I am sure I have more reason then any in all the world; and yet although both were double to what they are, even thus as I am now, (that is, without any presence of God to my feeling,) I think I would be very sorry to dishonour God that far, even albeit it were profitable or pleasant to me so to doe, as any may know it is not.

Satan strykes ay either at the root of faith or at the root of diligence, either to discourage from good, or to entice to evill.

A proud person thinks, though he dare not say it, that amends may be made to God, but not so soon to himself.

What means it that both the furniture for the tabernacle most part was that which was got of the Egyptians, Exod. xii., and the provision for the temple was got from the Syrians, 1 Chron. xviii.?

Increase of love to Christ were a good preparation to me for the communion. Neglecting of fasting and humiliation in secret makes me, when a publick occasion of that comes, to find myself exceedingly unable. I am in danger either to take too great a lift of the work of the ensueing communion in a fainting, faithless manner, or else to goe too light under it. Many a time I find great heaviness in the Lord's service, yet I think I love it not the worse for that;

for it is ane easie hell to be weighted with the burden of the Lord, and if but once in the year there should come liberty, it were enough, and yet I can hardly say but once a day I get some enlargement. But the consideration of my guiltiness may make me take desertion in good part. Sometimes when to my sense I am wonderfully deserted, the Lord sayes to me, "Tarrow not of[1] this my dealing, and you shall the sooner get better." The Lord keep me that I be not wryting a lie now, for Satan sayes that this is a lie. Lord, I desyre no more health or strength of body, or strength in my soul, nor to doe thy service; and seeing I hope to get that, I am content not to have a grain more for my own ease or any other use.

Unfrequency in meditation makes meditation very uneasy; but if I could get my minde in use, and keep it soe somewhile, I know I could find it very readily, and find it grow on my hand.

This necessity that comes upon me (and hath alwayes hitherto been) of being much abroad, although some may find it very profitable for others, yet by it I find for myself my mind goes more out of frame then when I stay at home. Company of God's children refreshes indeed; and seeing I goe when I have the Lord's call to it, it is not my going that has the wyte, but my miscarrying minde. This sore travel hath the Lord given to men under the sun. O then weell they that are above it, yea, weell they that shall be above it—of whom I hope I am one.

It is good, when we think ourselves in ane evil state, to be seeking out if any thing in the soul be in good case, and cherish that, and praise God for it; for sometimes when I think myself as empty as ever I was, yet, it may be the morrow after I shall think myself more empty, and then begin to look if any thing be right, and bless God for it, whereas I did not so before.

This day I had set apart for private fasting and prayer, before this ensueing communion, but as yet deadness and aversness from God, and as great emptiness of meditation is in my heart as ever

[1] Be not offended at.

almost. Lord send a gracious change. This deadness continued till supper-time. I sat up till almost two of the clock. The Lord was pleased somewhat to remove it. I got some meditation on Cant. iv. (Written 1634, December 13, Saturnday preparation to communion.) I am so perplexed with the weight of this work, and sore and multiplied temptations, that I can neither speak nor wryte. Undertake for me, sweet Jesus, who hast ay helped me hitherto, for I have some threed of hope. Lord strengthen it.

Notwithstanding the anxiety I was in before I went to preach, yet the Lord was pleased to bear me out very well. Blessed be his name! He banished all my fears. I preached on that, "Come with me from Lebanon," and the three verses following. Now I am afraid that at the next onsett this shall be forgotten. Oh Lord, when shall this wavering heart once come to a constant dependence on thee! for much of the sturr I make when I am not weel proceeds from self-love, rather then that thy majesty is dishonoured.

14*th December, Communion-Sabbath.*—This day my mind was dead and wandering in the morning before I went in. In the preface I was weighted and born down, and began to suspect that the Lord would desert me all the day. In the prayer I found some presence. In the beginning of the sermon, the Lord bear me into a digression of the love of Christ, wherein I was helped with good liberty, and many found great sweetness. The stamp of this remained through the rest of the day. The text was, "A garden inclosed," &c. There were five tables. The Lord gave me lively exhortations to them all. I had forgott to communicate myself till the last table was almost ended, and I thought it a great mercy of God that put me in remembrance, whereas I had forgotten it so long. Afternoon, Mr John M'Clcland preached, and was well helped on the tentations, Matth. iv. This was a very glorious day indeed, and so many found. Many proofs have I had of the Lord's exceeding love to me, beyond many others, and this as overcoming

as any. The Lord make me as humble and as painfull as if I had been deserted, and yet as thankfull as if it had been twice as good a day. Lord keep the people that have been here from thinking any thing at all of the instrument, but as ane instrument in thine hand. We are to praise the Lord for all the good done to the reprobates, both devills and men, seeing they themselves will never doe it, and it is no reason the Lord want his honour. The Lord make us willingly pay the rent of praise, and because the wicked will not doe soe, their pound is taken, that is, their soul, and it is apprised by justice to eternall damnation. No doubt, the angels think themselves as insufficient for the praises of the Lord as we doe.

When three or four of us are meeting together, we should make a fire of love to God, and when we want, fetch kindling from heaven. The fire of the Lord's love hath put out the fire of his justice to usward. Christ dyed for love of us, and rose again to get our love, which he had so dear bought.

This time, the most liberty I had was in publick. In the family I was not altogether so lively. Lord, I say not this as any way complaining. In private, on Fryday and Saturnday, the Lord was pleased to make that place lively to me, "My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest;" and "I know thee by thy name." In the exhortations, I found liberty in speaking of the distressed state of Germany, and telling these last sorrowfull news we heard of the enemies prevailling, and of the minister whose skin was flayed off him alive. We had also mention of the Hamans among ourselves, to make a sute to the king against them, and if it please the Lord, shall yet put up another sute next Sabbath, which is the second day of the feast.

December 15, *Munday*.—This day also the Lord helped me very well, blessed be his name! and crowned his own work. I preached on, "Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates," even to "I sleep, but my heart waketh." After we came out, and I came into my house to take a drink, I found that ere we had done

I was gone off my watch; yet it was God's mercy that made me remark it so soone. O but it is a wicked, faithless thought to think, because I was so well helped the last communion-day, that therefore I will be as much deserted this day! Lord, Satan casts it in, but I doe not agree to it. This day I set apart to fast and seek God; but my mind hath been chaffed for most part as yet; hardly can I ever remember that I have had two dayes after other, that in both I have preached with liberty, but the same onsett of Satan, or some desertion, hath interveened; and although I think every minister of my acquaintance, whom God hath sent out, gets his work done better than I, yet I would not desyre to be another than myself, nor to have other manner of dealing then the Lord uses, for his power is made perfect in weakness. Lord, look upon me. I have much adoe these three dayes following; and whereas I thought, before the last communion-day, I was ill-prepared; now when I cast back mine eye, I find that I am worse prepared at this time, both in my meditation for preaching, and in the disposition of my soul, and yet I may be as near help out of the Lord's hand. I thought to have sitten up and read, meditated, and written, till one or two a clock, and now, before eleven, both soul and body is wearied, and gives over, that I am forced to goe to bed, and have little or no preparation for any of the dyetts that is coming. Judge and see, good Lord, whether or not I have need of help.

December 20, *Saturnday—Preparation for the Communion.*—This day I was very full of faithless fears and discouragements, and because I gave so much way to them, the Lord was pleased to desert me in preaching on that text, "I sleep, but my heart waketh." Light there was, blessed be his name; but I found the work born down, and my misbelief had the wyte of it. The Lord pardon, and let me be humbled for it in the right manner. I have found some presence, and some better hope, before I went to bed. I was forced to change my text after supper, from Cant. v. 4, to John xvii. 24, 25, 26. In short, while the Lord hath given some

meditation on this place, which I have now written, but Lord make it lively to-morrow. I was refreshed at the exercise that Mr Blair had this night in the house, on Heb. xiii., "We have an altar," &c.

December 21, 1634, *Sabbath Communion.*—I was not so easilie born out this day as the last, but with some more fighting, yet very graciously, I bless his holy name.

REMARKS

ON

PREACHING AND PRAYING IN PUBLICK,

BY

MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE.[1]

It is most probable that no gift, no pains, a man takes to fit himself for preaching, shall ever doe good to the people or himself, except a man labour to have and keep his heart in a spiritual condition before God, depending on him allwayes for furniture and the blessing. Earnest faith and prayer, a single aime at the glory of God, and good of people, a sanctified heart and carriage, shall availl much for right preaching. There is sometime somewhat in preaching that cannot be ascribed either to the matter or expression, and cannot be described what it is, or from whence it cometh, but with a sweet violence, it pierceth into the heart and affections, and comes immediatly from the Lord. But if there be any way to attaine to any such thing, it is by a heavenly disposition of the speaker.

A man would [should] especially read the writings, and labour to follow the gifts, of those whom God hath, in the most eminent manner, blessed with the converting and confirming of their hearers, rather than those who seem to have rare gifts for learning and delectation, without such successe.

[1] Wodrow MSS., vol. lx. folio, No. 59. In Mr M'Ward's handwriting.

It is very needful, that a man prudently discerne what is the nature and extent of the gift that God hath given him, that in offering to imitat others, he doe not stretch beyond his owne line, but onely correct the defects of his owne gift, and what is good therin, labour to improve and exault that.

It is very fitting, that a man have plentie and choice of words, that as need requires, he may vary his expression; and sometime the inforceing of the same thing with diverse words to the same purpose hath its owne use, especially to a dull auditory; and so we finde, that often in the Prophets and Psalms, and poetick Scriptures, the same thing will be twice expressed onely in different words. But a custome of multiplieing synonimous words and epithets, and sentences, to the same purpose, is very unsavourie to ane understanding hearer, that seeks matter and not words, and would feign to proceed from scarcetie of matter, and a desire to fill the hour any way.

The light of nature, which is a sparke of the will of God, hath taught many usefull rules even to Pagans, anent the right way of makeing solemne speeches before others, the most of which are to be applied to preaching with due discretion; so that what is thought unseemly in the one is to be avoided in the other. But the best rules are taken from the preachings of Christ, of the Apostles and Prophets.

DIRECTIONS, MISCARRIAGES, AND EXTREMITIES IN PREACHING.

I. FOR MATTER.

1. A mediocritie would be keept that there be not too much matter in one sermon, which but overburdeneth the memorie of the hearers, and would seem to smell of ostentation; and, on the other hand, that there be not too little, which hungers the auditorie, and argues ane emptie gift.

2. The matter would [should] not be too exquisit and fine, with obstruse learning and quaint notions, which goe beyond the capacitie of the vulgar, and also savoureth of ostentation, nor yet too common, and such as most of the auditorie might themselves devise; for it procures carelesse hearing, and despiseing of the gift.

Moreover, these faults would [should] be shunned:—

1. Too many particular points reckoned, as 8, 10, &c., loads memorie, and too few is flat.
2. Too exquisit methode, and none almost at all.
3. Too much would not be left to assistance in the time, and yet not all premeditated.
4. Ordinarly goe not beyond the hour.
5. Not too much Scripture cited, nor too little.
6. Not to insist long in proveing cleare doctrines.
7. Not too few doctrines, nor too many.
8. Not to insist on points that may be spoke to on any text.
9. Neither too many similitudes, nor none at all.

II. WORDS.

1. Not too fine, nor too common.
2. Avoid many synonimous words and sentences.

III. UTTERANCE AND VOICE.

1. Not like singing. 2. Not long drawen words. 3. Not affect at a weeping-like voice. 4. Not too loud, nor too low. 5. Not to speake too fast, or too slow. 6. Not to interrupt with oft sigheing.

OBSERVATIONS BY MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE, PREVIOUS TO HIS DEATH.[1]

UPON AUGUST 19, WHEN SOME OF HIS FRIENDS OCCASIONALLY WERE TOGETHER TO VISIT HIM, HE WAS DESIRED BY HIS WIFE TO SPEAKE SOME THING TO THEM.

There is, said he, a vanitie in speaking, and desireing to heare; but He needs no testimonie from men; yet if my poor testimony could signifie any thing, it is good my common to give it him, for He hath made good his word to me in all things.

The Lord was pleased to take me when I was young, and to keep me on his side: for when I was at the Colledge of Glasgow, he engaged me in ane opposition to kneeling at the communion.

The first acquaintance ever I had were Christian acquaintance, as the tutor of Bonitoune, and my Lady Kenmure, who is the eldest acquaintance I have now alive in Scotland.

When I was called to Ireland, I was joyned with some worthy men there, whose books I was not worthy to beare.

And, after a pause, (for he was not able to speak much together,) looking towards his friends, he said with ane emphatick sweetnesse, Carry my commendations to Him, (meaning Jesus Christ,) till I come there myself, and bring them.

After this Jacob-like pause, he added, I die in the faith, that the truths of God which he hath helped the Church of Scotland to owne, shall be owned by him as truths so long as sun and moon endure. I hate Independency, though there be good men among them, and some weel-meaning people favour it; yet it will be found more to the prejudice of the work of God then many are aware; for they evanish into vaine opinions.

[1] Wodrow MSS., vol. lx. folio, No. 58, in the handwriting of Mr M'Ward.

I have had my owne faults as other men; but He made me allwayes to abhorre SHEWS.

I have, I know, given offence to many through my slacknesse and negligence; but I forgive, and desire to be forgiven.

I cannot say much of great services, yet if ever my heart was lifted up, it was in preaching of Jesus Christ.

There is a cloud,—I would not have people foretasting the worst,—yet there is a great storme comeing, but I hope it shall not bide long.

I have not much to doe now with creatures: I have ordered my cause, and He knoweth my words which I uttered before him at Mizpeh.

Speaking something of his speciall friends in the South, he mentioned particularly these two ladyes, the Lady Mertoun and the Lady Riddell, who he said had bein very usefull to him and his family.

His wife perceiving him not able to speake more at [that] tyme, and apprehending what followed, desired him to take his leave of his friends. I dowe not, (said he with an affectionat tendernesse;) and it is like our parting will be but for a short time.

MEMORABLE CHARACTERISTICS,

AND

REMARKABLE PASSAGES OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

EXEMPLIFIED IN THE LIVES OF SOME OF THE MOST EMINENT MINISTERS AND PROFESSORS IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

COLLECTED BY

MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE,
LATE MINISTER AT ANCRUM.

NOTE.

THERE are two copies of "THE CHARACTERISTICS" among the Wodrow MSS., one in vol. xviii. quarto, No. 15, from which this edition is taken, the other in vol. lxxv. quarto, No. 4, but which is less correct than the other. The MS. employed in this edition has been collated with another belonging to Rev. THOMAS M'CRIE, which was originally the property of Ann Livingstone, daughter of William Livingstone, eldest son of the Author of "THE CHARACTERISTICS." The different readings in the latter are indicated on the margin, by the words printed in inverted commas, as in the *Life*; but it has not been thought necessary to attend to such minute discrepancies as *sayeth* for *sayes*, or *gotten* for *got*. The same remark applies to the various readings occasioned merely by the transposition or omission of words in clauses conveying nearly the same meaning. The notes will explain any other variations that occur, as far as explanation appears to be needed.

MEMORABLE CHARACTERISTICS,

AND

REMARKABLE PASSAGES OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE.

PART I.

SOME OF THE MINISTERS OF CHRIST, IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, EMINENT FOR GRACE AND GIFTS, FOR FAITHFULLNESS AND SUCCESSE. AND, FIRST, THOSE OF WHOM I HAVE ONLY HEARD.

MR JOHN KNOX, the chief Reformer of the Church of Scotland. He was minister at Edinburgh. Much of his life is in the History of the Church of Scotland, written by himself; as also, his Effigie, Life, and Books, written by him, are set doun in Jacob Verheidin's collection of the chief Reformers, printed at Hague, *anno* 1602. A man of most heroick and divine spirit. It is reported that the Queen Regent said she was more afraid of Mr Knox[1] prayers than of ane army of ten thousand men. Of him Regent Morton testified over his grave when he was buried, *anno* 1572, "There lyes he who never feared flesh." He dispossessed ane evil spirit out of a chamber in the house of Ormiston, in East Lothian.

[1] "Knoxe's."

II. Mr JOHN ROW, minister at St Johnston, of whom it is said that he was ane Italian sent by the Pope to hinder the Reformation in Scotland, but being converted to the truth, became a propagator and preacher of it. Of him are come all of the name of Row in Scotland.

III. Mr JOHN DAVIDSONE, minister at Prestonpans, who in severall particulars shewed that he had somewhat of the spirit of prophesie. He told Mr John Ker, when he was going in a scarlet cloak as a courteour, that he behooved to succeed him in the ministrie at Prestonpans, which accordingly came to passe. One tyme, being Moderator of the Provincial Synod of Lothian at Tranent, wherein Mr John Spotswood, minister at Calder, and Mr James Law, minister at Kirkliston, were to be censured for playing at the foot-ball on the Sabbath-day, he urged that they might be deposed, but the Synod agreed not thereto; and when they were called in, he said, "Come in, ye prettie foot-ball men; the Synod hath ordained you only to be rebuked;" and turning to the Synod, he said, "And now, brethren, let me tell you what reward you shall get for your lenity; these two men shall trample on your necks and the necks of the ministrie of Scotland;" and thereafter Mr Spotswood was first Bishop of Glasgow, and after of St Andrews, and Mr Law became[1] Bishop of Glasgow, and both did much mischief. At another time he and Mr[2] Bruce dyning with a bailiff of Edinburgh, he foretold that that bailiff would carry them both to prison, which accordingly came to pass.

IV. Mr JOHN CRAIG, minister at Edinburgh. He it was that penned the short Confession of Faith, or the National Covenant of the Church of Scotland. I have heard my Lord Waristone report ane history of some rare dangers and deliveries that he met with coming out of Italy, and how a dog brought him a purse with some gold, but I have forgotten the particular relation.

[1] "And Law was." [2] "Robert."

V. Mr WALTER BALCANQUALL, minister at Edinburgh, Mr WILLIAM WATSON, minister there, Mr JAMES LAWSON, minister there, Mr JAMES BALFOUR, minister there, Mr WILLIAM AIRD, minister at the West Kirk of Edinburgh, who before was a mason, and being pressed in spirit to betake himself to the ministrie, went to schools and profited well, especially in the Hebrew tongue. I have heard that one tyme, some two or three dayes before a General Assembly to be keeped at Edinburgh, or Halyrudehouse, wherein King James was to bring in bishops, or somewhat introductory to them, a courteour came to Mr Aird, and told him that the king hearing he was in some outward straits, had sent him a purse with some gold, (and the truth was, that the same day there was neither bread, meal, nor money in the house;) yet he refused the king's gift, saying, that if the king were not bringing in innovating usurpations upon the Church, he would not refuse to take what he sent, but as the case stood, he had not freedom to take any thing; and that the next morning, when he and his family were at prayer, some who had been sent from a well-affected person in the paroche, who knew his straits, had laid down two or three secks of meal in the enterance[1] before the door, and hearing him at prayer, went away, leaving the meal to be made use of by the family.

VI. Mr WILLIAM ROW, minister at Stramiglo, a son of Mr John Row, minister at St Johnstoun, a straight bold man, having been Moderator of a preceeding Synodall[2] Assembly, he was to preach and open the next Assembly, wherein King James was to urge the bringing in of constant moderators of presbytries, and had sent my Lord Scoon, who was Captain of the Guard, as his commissionar, and severall lords and courteours with him. My Lord Scoon sent word to Mr William Row, that if in his preaching he once made mention of a constant moderator, he should make ten or twelve of the guard discharge their calverenes[3] at him,

[1] "Trance." [2] "General." [3] "Carabines."

the most part whereof should light on his nose; and as soon as the text was read, he rose and stood in a minacing posture, having the king's guard by him. Mr William, knowing what vices my Lord Scoon was[1] subject to, for especially he was a fearfull bellygod, he began his preaching with reproveing these vices; so as my Lord Scoon perceiving all the people of the church look to him as guilty of these vices, satt doun and covered his face with his hand. Then Mr William began the dispute to prove that there should not be constant moderators in the Church, and knowing that my Lord Scoon knew neither Greek nor Latine, instead of constant moderator he used the word *Proestos*[2] *ad vitam.* When sermon was done, my Lord Scoon said to some noblemen about him, "Howbeit the minister fell out on my faults, yet you see I charmed him that he durst not name constant moderator; but I wonder what man that hath been against whom he spake so much, whom he called *Prestos ad vitam.*" They told him that was in Greek and Latine *constant moderator.* At another Assembly at Edinburgh, or Haly-rude-house, he met Mr James Melvill, who had been sent for, and was going to the king, and went to him, and stood behind the hangings in the outer room till the king took Mr James Melvill into the inner room; and when Mr James was come out and was gone, he overheard the king, being come to the outer room, say to some courteours, "This is a good simple man; I have straiked cream in his mouth, I warrand you he shall procure a good number to vote for me to-morrow for what I intend." Mr William slyds out and overtakes Mr James Melvill, and enquired what passed. Mr James said, "We wrong the king by our suspicions; he is well-minded for the good of the Church in all that he intends." Mr William replyes,[3] "The king judges you but a fool or a knave, and a coy-duke [duck] to draw on others," and told him what he heard the king say; and when the other believed not, he offered to goe back with him, and avow in the king's face what he

[1] "Most." [2] Προεστως in Mr M'Crie's MS. [3] "Replyed."

heard him say to such a nobleman.[1] Mr James went back with him, and finding him forward to goe in with him, would not goe in, but believed him; and the next day, when Mr James voted against what the king proponed,[2] the king would have him called again, not believing that such was his vote, till he again and again repeated it.

He was also one of those that would not publish Gowrie's conspiracie as a truth. The king thinking to entrap him, caused summond him under pain of rebellion and death, to compear such a day before the king and his councill at Stirling, and then sent two noblemen out to meet him, one about his own house, another within two or three myles of Stirling, who should say they were come out of friendship to forbid him to goe to Stirling, except he had two heads, for they knew his life would be taken. He said he would not doe any thing to make himself justly liable to the law, and so came to Stirling, to the amazement of the king and of the court, and told freely the reasons why he could not believe that history as it was given out, and particularly because one Hendersone, who was said to have confessed that Gowrie hired him, and that he was armed in[3] the chamber to have killed the king, because that man was not only suffered to live, but was rewarded; whereas, said he, if I had seen the king's life in hazard, and not ventured my life to rescue him,[4] I should think I deserved not to live.

VII. Mr Robert Rollock, minister at Edinburgh, and the first master and principall of the Colledge of Edinburgh. He bred many able and faithfull ministers, a man very learned, as his works in print shew, yet very plain and also powerfull in preaching. His life is printed in Latine. He was of a meek and sweet disposition, and did not so[5] apprehend or fear the design of the court, to bring in bishops, as some other ministers did.

VIII. Mr John M'Birnie, minister at Aberdeen. I heard

[1] "To such noblemen." [2] "Propounded." [3] "Comed to."
[4] Had not ventured my own life to save him. [5] "Much."

the Lady Culross say he was a godly, zealous, and painfull preacher, and that he used, alwayes when he rode, to have two Bibles hanging at a leathern girdle about his midle, the one original, the other English; as also a little sand-glasse in a brazen case, and being alone, read, or meditated, or prayed; and if[1] any company were with him, he would read and speak from the word to them; and that when he died, he called his wife, and told[2] he had no outward means to leave her or his only daughter, but that he had got good assureance that the Lord would provide for them; and that, accordingly, the day he was buried, the magistrates of the town came to the house after the buriall, and brought two subscribed papers, one of a competent maintainance to his wife dureing her life, another of a provision for his daughter.

IX. Mr JOHN WELSH, first minister at Kirkcudbright, and afterward at Air: and for keeping the Assembly at Aberdeen, *anno* 1605, and asserting of the liberties of the kirk to keep her own Assemblies, and in that point declyning the judgement of the councill, he, with five or six others, were condemned as traitors at Linlithgow; but thereafter the sentence was turned to banishment, and he went to France, and was there minister in two or three places, the last whereof was St Jean de Angely. In all the places where he was minister, he had evident sealls of his ministrie by the conversion of many. I have heard my father say, who was with him and the rest to encourage them at their tryall at Linlithgow, that the day they were brought from the castle of Blackness to Linlithgow, the guard came to the castle to fetch them very early in the morning, while they were all a-bed. So soon as Mr Welsh heard the trumpet at the gate, he sprang out of his bed, and called to the rest, saying, Courage, now brethren, let us sing—and began himself, they joyning with him then[3] singing the eleventh Psalm. John Stewart, the Provost of Aire, told me that Mr Welsh spent much time in praying,[4] and used every night to

[1] "When." [2] "Her." [3] "In." [4] "Prayer."

rise for prayer; and used to say, he wondered how any Christian could sleep a whole night without rising to pray[1] and praise; and that sometimes his supper would be waiting at two or three a clock in the morning, while he was alone at prayer; that beside the Sabbath-daye's exercises, he preached every day of the week twice.

He told me, that when Mr Welsh was prisoner, himself went from Air to visit him, and left Air in as good a condition as ever; but when he was come to Mr Welsh, he said to him, "Dear brother, goe home to Air so soon as ye can, for the hand of God is broken in upon the town by pestilence, for contempt of the gospell, and prophaning of the Sabbath-day: Let Hugh Kennedy pray, and God will accept him." And that he came home and found many were infected, and some dead, and that immediately the plague was stayed. Also John, Viscount of Kenmure, told me he was boarded in Mr Welshe's house in St Jean de Angely, in the year 1620 and 1621, and that when the King of France, with his army, came in the year 1620 to besiedge St Jean, Mr Welsh assured the magistrates, God would deliver them all[2] at that time; and that one day early, a battery being planted against the town, a cannon-ball came through the minister's house, under the bed where he lay for the very time, and that he rose, and did not goe out of that room, till he kneeled down and thanked God for the deliverie; and when all almost had forsaken the walls, he went to the walls with the cannonier, who was a Burgundian, and when the cannonier went to fetch a ball, the minister filled the scup[3] with pouder to put in the peice. But a ball from the enemy carried the scup[3] out of his hands without any harm to himself, whereupon he crying, "Courage," took his hatt to the barrell, and filled it with pouder, and loadened the peice, and told the cannoneir to lavell well, and God would direct the shott; and, accordingly, that shott dismounted a great cannon that played on the wall. At that time, the king was forced to grant them their former liberties and their walls, only desired that he and some few might abide some-

[1] "Prayer." [2] "All" omitted. [3] "Scoop."

time in the town, which was granted; and there having been some law or use that where the king was, no exercise of any other religion should be, the magistrates desyred the minister to forbear preaching the next Sabbath-day. He said, "That's no good requittall to God for your delivery, to hinder his worship: for my part, except I be violently hindered, I will goe to the public place, and preach to any that comes; and if none come, I will goe home and bewaill the miseries that are coming on you." They answered, "Whatever were the hazard, they would come," and that day there was a greater meeting than ever, some even of the Papists that came with the king coming to hear. The king getting notice, sent the Duke D'Espernon, with some of the guard, to bring the minister out of the pulpit. The minister seeing him throng in, desired a seat to be sett for the Mareshall of France, and commanded him, in the name of God, whose servant he was, not to disturb his worship. The Duke, struck with amazement, forbare till all[1] was done; then the minister went with him to the king, who demanded, how he durst preach, it being against the law to doe it so near the king. He answered, "If your Majestie knew what I preach, you would command others, and come yourself, to hear it; for I preach salvation only by Jesus Christ, and I am sure your own conscience tells you, that your good works will never merit heaven to you; and I preach that there is none in the earth above you, which none of these deceivers about you, who adhere to the Pope, will say." Whereat the king replyed, Bien! vous serez mon ministre; "Weel, you shall be my minister," and dismissed him; and that the next year, when the king came with his army, the minister told the towne their sins were come to a height, and there was no escaping of the stroake. Accordingly, the king prevailed over the town, but gave command to Monsieur de Vitry, the captain of the guard, to put a guard to the[2] minister's house, that he get no harm, and on the king's charges, waggons were provided to carry him, his family, and goods, to Rotchell. All this my Lord Ken-

[1] "He." [2] "His."

mure told me. I have also heard say, but I have forgotten by whom, that Mr Welsh, going down the street of Edinburgh, between two townsmen, said, "You have two ministers here of great account, but none of them are great friends to the present controverted cause of Christ, (to witt, Mr Patrick Galloway and Mr John Hall;) but no man shall hear of their repentance at their death:" and that Mr Patrick Galloway was found dead sitting on the dry stool, and the other being in Leith, and the servant woman having gone out to the mercat, he was found dead when she came again.

X. Mr ANDREW MELVILL, minister and professor of divinity at St Andrews, a man zealous and bold in the cause of God, who, when some blamed him as fierie, said, "If you see my fire goe downward, set your foot upon[1] it, and put it out; but if it goe upward, let it return to its own place;" meaning his zeal was not for himself or outward things. He was long prisoned in the Tower of London; at last procured by the Duke of Bullion to the University of Sedan, where he taught some years, and dyed.

XI. Mr PATRICK SIMSON, minister at Stirling, a learned and godly man, whom I heard when I was at school in Stirling, but could not then have any acquaintance of him, and from him I received first the communion. He wrote the History of the Church[2] in Centuries, in English; a man well versed in the Fathers and Church History, yea, in all learning.

XII. Mr JAMES MELVILL, minister at Kilrenny, a godly and meek man.

XIII. Mr ALEXANDER SIMSON, minister at Dryburgh, one who knew or cared little about worldly things, yea, scarce knew money, but was taken up with the Bible, and with prayer, wherin he was

[1] "Feet on." [2] "Of Scotland."

unweariable. For his free preaching in Edinburgh, in the time of the parliament, 1621, that ratified the five ceremonies of Perth, he was prisoned in the castle of Dumbartan, where the Lord blessed his prayer and preaching with the conversion from Popery of the Lady of Sir John Stewart, the captain of the castle. She was one of the house of Abercorn, who was thereafter married to Sir John Seaton, in whose time I was acquainted with her at London, in the yĕar 1634. He was thereafter let out of prison, and continued till his death preaching in Dryburgh and Merton. I have heard, that at one time walking alone, he fell and brake his leg, and was found sitting with his broken leg in his arm, and alwayes crying out, "Blessed be the Lord, blessed be his name;" and when they enquired why he said soe, he answered, "We ought to bless the Lord for all that befalls us, and it was a blessing that he brake not his neck."

XIV. Mr JAMES KNOX, minister at Melross.

XV. Mr JOHN COUPER, minister at Glasgow.

XVI. Mr JOHN CARMICHAEL, minister at Kinneucher in Fyfe, a man godly, learned, and zealous in the cause of God.

XVII. Mr NATHAN ENGLISH, minister at ———. He was for nonconformity prisoned in the castle of Dumbartan.

XVIII. Mr JOHN GILLESPIE, minister at Kirkaldie, a thundering preacher: when I was at school in Stirling I heard him preach, helping his father-in-law, Mr Patrick Simpsone, when there was a fast that lasted a whole week, and two sermons every day.

PART II.

SOME OF THE MINISTERS OF CHRIST, IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, *EMINENT FOR GRACE AND GIFTS, FOR FAITHFULLNESS AND SUCCESSE, WHOM I HAVE KNOWN AND HAD ACQUAINTANCE OF; AND, FIRST, OF THOSE WHO WERE BEFORE THE BLESSED SECOND* REFORMATION IN THE YEAR 1638, SOME WHEREOF LIVED AFTER THAT YEAR.

I. Mr ROBERT BRUCE, minister at Edinburgh. [He] began to preach about the year 1590, [and] dyed about the year 1632. [He was] second sone of the Laird of Airth, from whom he had the estate of Kinnaird, [and] was bred in France at the laws, designed to have been one of the Lords of Session; but coming home, [he] was moved by the Spirit of the Lord to set to the ministry, and having studyed sometyme at St Andrewes, when he began to preach there were found more than ordinary gifts in him, so as he was most earnestly and unanimously called to be minister at Edinburgh, but for a long while only preached, and could not be moved to take on the charge till one of the ministry[1] by advice of the rest entrapped him. For that minister one day giving the communion had desyred Mr Robert, who was to preach in the afternoon, to sitt by him, and when he himself had served two or three tables he removed out of the church, as being shortly to return, but sent in word to Mr Robert Bruce by some of the elders, that he would not return at that time, and that therefore Mr Robert behooved to serve the rest of the table, or else the work must be given over. When, therefore, the eyes of the elders and the whole people were on him, and many also called out, he did goe on, and celebrated[2] the communion to the rest with such assistance and motion, as had not been seen in that place before, and for that cause he would not thereafter receive in the

[1] "Ministers."

[2] Wodrow has written over "celebrated" the word "administrat."

ordinary way the imposition of hands, seeing before he had the materiall of it, to witt, the approbation of all the ministry, and had already celebrated the communion, which was not,[1] by ane new ordination, to be made void.

No man in his time spake with such evidence and power of the Spirit: no man had so many sealls of conversion; yea, many of his hearers thought that no man since the apostles spake with such power. He had a notable faculty in searching[2] deep in the Scriptures, and of making the most dark mysteries most plain, but especially in dealing with every one's conscience. He was much exercised in conscience himself for opposeing Episcopacie that was creeping in; and because he would not joyn in giving thanks for the delyverie of[3] Gowrie's Conspiracie, for which he saw not sufficient evidence, the king removed him from Edinburgh. He was at first prisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, after that confyned in Invernesse, yet at last he got liberty to dwell in[4] his own house of Kinnaird, where the paroch of Larber having neither church nor stipend, he repaired the church, and discharged all the parts of a minister, and many from other[5] parts came to hear him. I was there his hearer for a great part of the summer 1627. He told me once in privat that he had dreamed, and had seen a great long book with black broads flying in the air, and all the black fowls flying about it, and that as it touched any of them they fell down dead; and that he heard a voice which he said was as audible as I heard him speak, "This is the ire of God upon the ministrie of Scotland," and that he presently fell a weeping and crying to God that he might be keeped faithfull, and not be one of these that were stricken down dead; and he said that when he awaked he found all the pillow wett with his tears.

One day when I came to his house, he was late ere he came out of his study; he had heard that day of Doctor[6] Lighton's censure at London, and when he came out all his face was foull with weeping: he told me what he had heard, and that his grief was not for

1 "Thereafter." 2 "Most." 3 "Deliverance from."
4 "Stay at." 5 "Far." 6 "Alexr."

Doctor Lighton, but for himself; for, (said he,) "If I had been faithful, I might have got the pillory, and some of my blood shed for Christ as well as he; but he hath got the crown from us all."

He was both in publick and private very short in prayer with others, but then every sentence was like a strong bolt shott up to heaven. I have heard him say, he hath wearied when others were longsome in prayer, but being alone, he spent much tyme in prayer and wrestling. I went once with the tutor of Bonnitoun to see him in Andrew Ainslie's house in Edinburgh: it was about eight in the morning; he was in bed, and saith to us, "You must goe and leave me at this time; I thought yesternight, when I lay down, I had a good measure of the Lord's presence, and now I have wrestled this hour or two and have not yet got accesse, and there fore I am not yet for any company."

When he preached at Larber, he used, after the first sermon on the Sabbath, when he had taken some little refreshment, to retire to a chamber in a house near the kirk. I heard that one day, some noblemen being there, and he staying long in the chamber, and they having far to ride home after the afternoon's sermon, desyred the bellman to goe hearken at the door if there were any appearance of his coming. The bellman returned, and said, "I think he shall not come out the day at all, for I hear him alwayes saying to another that he will not nor cannot goe except the other go with him,[1] and I do not hear[2] the other answer him a word at all." The foolish bellman understood not that he was dealing with God.

He had a very majestick countenance, and whatever he spake in publick or private, yea, when he read the word, I thought it had such a force as I never discerned in any other man. I heard him once say, "I would desyre no more for one request but one hour's conferrence with King James: I know he hath a conscience; I made him once weep bitterly in his own house at Halyrudehouse." I heard him say, *anno* 1627 or 1628, "I wonder how I am keeped so long here. I have already lived two years in violence;" meaning he

[1] Wodrow writes over these words, "Out without him."

[2] "And I hear not."

was seventy-two years old. I heard when he died, and his sight was failed, he called for the great Bible, and desyred them to put his finger on the 28th verse of the 8th chapter[1] to the Romans, and told he dyed in the faith that all things, even death, should work together for his good.

II. Mr JOHN SCRIMGER, minister at Kinghorn. He went minister with King James to Denmark, when he went thither to fetch home Queen Anna, a man rude-like in his clothing, and some of his behaviour and expressions;[2] but he was of a deep reach, of a[3] natural witt, very learned, especially in the Hebrew language, who oft wished[4] most part of books to be burnt except the Bible and clear notes on it: one of a most tender loving heart, especially fitted to comfort such as were cast down. His expressions in preaching seemed sometimes too familiar, but alwayes very pressing. I heard that he told some intimate friends, that having before some children taken away by death, and having a young daughter which he loved dearly who took the disease called the King's Evill, or the cruells, and had severall runing sores, especially one great one in her arm, and was at the point of death, so as one night he was called up to see her die: "I went out," said he, "to the fields in the night, being in great anxiety, and began to expostulat with God, in a fitt of great displeasure, and said, 'Thou knowest, O Lord, I have been serving thee in the uprightness of mine heart, according to my measure, and thou seest I take pleasure in this child, and cannot obtain such a thing as that at thy hand;' with other such expressions, as I durst not again utter for all the world, for I was in great bitterness, and at last it was said to me, 'I have heard thee at this time, but use not such boldness in time coming, for such particulars;' and when I came back, the child was sitting up in the bed fully healed, taking some meat, and when I looked her arm, it was

[1] "Of the Apostle."
[2] "And in his behaviour and some of his expressions."
[3] "But one of a deep reach in."
[4] "Used to wish;"—written over this in Wodrow's handwriting.

quite healed." He was by the Bishops deposed, and put from Kinghorn, and lived the rest of his dayes in the parish of Achterdeeren, but preached severall tymes in the castle of Edinburgh, at Larber, and elsewhere. A little before his death I went to see him at his own house in Achterdeeren. He was troubled with the gravell, and severall times forced to goe to another room for rendering urine, and all the time was made to cry out bitterly for pain. One time when he came back to me, he saith, "Joannes, I have been a rude, stunkard man all my dayes, and now by this pain, the Lord is dantoning me to make me as a lamb before he take me home to himself." Just the like pain, and crying, and subduedness, I found in Mr Jeremy Whittaker, the minister, while he was lying in Southwark, a little before his death, *anno* 1654.

III. Mr ROBERT BOYD of Trochridge, Principal of the Colledge of Glasgow, who was first a minister at Vertale in France, thereafter brought by Sieur Duplessis to be minister and Professor of Theology in Saumer, thereafter was settled Principall of the Colledge of Glasgow, and minister at Govean—a man throughly indued with all sort of learning, as his Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians testifies, [and] a great poet, as his *Hecatombe Christiana,* and other poems, not yet printed, show. He spoke and wrote Latine most natively and fluently. I have heard him say, that if he were to choose a language wherein to deliver his minde with the most ready freedom, it would be the Greek tongue; one of ane austere-like carriage, but of a most tender heart. Notwithstanding of his rare abilities, he had no account of himself, but a high account of every other man's parts, when he perceived any spark of grace and ingenuity, but where these were not, no man such a severe censurer. All that he preached, he wrote fair and full before-hand, marking in the margine all the artifice both in Logick and Rhetorick, and yet delyvered it in pulpit[1] with as great action and affec-

[1] Wodrow here writes "publick."

tion, as if all had been given him in the meantime. When he came first to Scotland, having been before in France, only taken up with the Popish controversies, he thought not so much of the differences that were then in Scotland, anent Bishops and ceremonies; but thereafter he abhorred both, and joyned with the sounder part of the ministers. Wherefore the Prelats, knowing that the man's eminency would move many, dealt so with intreaties and threatnings, and persuasions of some friends, that he gave a little paper to Mr James Law, pretended Archbishop of Glasgow, wherein he seemed in some sort to acknowledge[1] the pre-eminence of Bishops, but getting no rest that night, he went the next day to the Bishop, with tears, demanding his paper again, [when] the other pretended he had sent it away to the king. When he came home, he wrote these lines on that subject:—

Ut ratis adverso fluctuque æstuque coacta
  Linquere directum velificatur iter,
Sic ego temporibus multum jactatus iniquis,
  Quæ rectum renuunt subjuga, curvus eo;
Sed nec Roma[2] . . . . . .
  . . . . . .
. . . . . .
  . . . . . .

Γενοιτο, γενοιτο.

Being filled with anxiety, and finding he could not peaceably continue in that station, he left the Colledge of Glasgow, and having a call to be minister at Paisley, some popishly and prophanely affected threw out his goods, and stopped his entry; yea, when he had been received minister in Edinburgh, and the greatest part of all the well-affected leaving the rest of the kirks, and con-

[1] Own.—Wodrow.

[2] The MS. of the remaining lines is so incorrect, that their meaning has not been ascertained, even by conjectural emendation.—Wodrow writes on the margin, "Thir verses wrong."

stantly hearing him, the rest of the ministers being prelatically affected, and moved with envy, dealt with the king that he should be put from that employment: therefore, having begun to preach on the Gospell of John, and having written some sermons thereupon, he added at last:—

Cætera ne quæras, nam hæc limine cæpta sub ipso
Irati abrupit regis violentia, qui me,
Jussibus immeritum repetitis, expulit illa
E statione ubi me concordia vota piorum,
Qui nunc damna dolent sua, Christo auctore, locarunt.
Causam quæris? Habe—quia pontificalis abollæ
Nec mihi forma placet, nec fimbria.

Μη αυτῳ λογιαδειν.[1]

IV. Mr ANDREW CANT, first minister at Pitsligo, thereafter at Newbottle, and last at Aberdeen; one who preached with great authority, and spared not to deliver the whole counsell of God before king or state: [he] died about the year 1661.

V. Mr ALEXANDER MARTIN, minister at Deer.

VI. Mr JAMES MARTIN, minister at Peterhead.

VII. Mr WILLIAM SCOT, minister at Couper in Fyfe, a wise, learned, prudent man, who understood the laws and customs of the nations above many others. He was one of those who were called up to London, before the pretended Assembly of Glasgow, that brought in Episcopacy, and by his prudence he so helped the rest, as the enemies got no advantage, and yet they were all sent home again, except Mr Andrew Melvill, who was committed to the Tower. It is said that the Earle of Salisburie, wondering at his wisdom, offered him a great pension and place, if he would have stayed in England, being sometimes in his house. I have won-

[1] *Sic* in MS.

dered to see how he would give counsell in very intricate cases. He died about the year 1642.

VIII. Mr ALEXANDER HENDERSON, minister first at Leuchars in Fife, thereafter at Edinburgh, a learned, wise, grave man, who gave great proofs of his piety and ability, being the Moderator of the Generall Assembly at Glasgow, 1638, and at other Assemblies, and at the Synod of Divines at London, and in his conference with King Charles the First. He was employed in great matters for the Church of Scotland, and was faithfull therein. I was severall times with him on his death-bed in Edinburgh, *anno* 1646, where he expressed great peace of minde.

IX. Mr JOHN DYKES, minister at Kilrinnie in Fyfe. He was one well acquainted with the Scriptures, who had great facility in understanding, expounding, and applying the same. Every morning he publickly expounded a chapter, and so went severall times through the Bible with his hearers. Mr John Scrimger used to say that Mr John Dykes would get more meditation on a place of Scripture, dureing the time he is combing his head, than some others[1] in a whole day. I have heard him goe through a long chapter in less than an hour, and pertinently handle every purpose thereof.

X. Mr WILLIAM ERSKINE, minister at Dinnianno (Denino) in Fife.

XI. Mr JOHN CHAMBERS, minister at Achterdeeren in Fife.

XII. Mr JOHN ROW, minister at Carnock in Fife, a son of Mr John Row, minister at St Johnstoun, who was one of the great Reformers, a godly, zealous man, who was carefull to collect the most observable[2] passages of Providence in his time. I have seen

[1] "Will get."

[2] "Remarkable."

when he had some other ministers to help him at his communion, he would hardly doe any thing himself, but put all the work on others. He helped at the Generall Assembly at Glasgow, 1638, to discover sundry corruptions of the former tyme.[1]

XIII. Mr ROBERT COLVILL, minister at Culross.

XIV. Mr JOHN MONCREIF, minister at Colessie in Fife, and after at Kinghorn.

XV. Mr WILLIAM BENNET, minister first at Monymaill in Fife, and after at Edinburgh.

XVI. Mr GEORGE GRIER, minister at Haddington.

XVII. Mr JOHN KER, minister at Prestonpans, whom Mr John Davidsone designed to be his successor;—one who had a great hand in keeping sundry of the nobility and gentry straight, when the land was poisoned with Episcopacie and ceremonies, as having near relation to severall of them, and being for his generous carriage much favoured by all.

XVIII. Mr ADAM COLT, minister at Inveresk, or Musselburgh, one of the eight that had been sent for to London before the pretended Assembly at Glasgow, 1610.

XIX. Mr DAVID CALDERWOOD was first minister at Crailing in Teviotdale, and for his opposition to Episcopacy and ceremonies was banished from Scotland by King James about the year 1617, and lived long in Holland, where he wrote and printed *Altare Damascenum*, and some other pieces in English, that helped to keep many straight in that declining time. After that he came privatly home to Scotland, and lurking in Edinburgh, strengthened

[1] "Tymes."

the hands of the Nonconformists, and was also a great opposer of sectarisme. After the Reformation in the year 1638, whereunto he contributed much, he was received minister at the kirk of Penkaitland in East Lothian. He wrote the History of the Church of Scotland, beginning where Mr Knox left, but it is not yet printed. In the year 1651, when the English army lay in Lothian, he came to Jedburgh, where he sickened and died, and was buried at Crailing, where he had been first minister.

XX. Mr JAMES FLEEMING, minister at Bathans, now called Easter, in East Lothian, who had lived somewhile in England, and ane ingenuous single-hearted man.

XXI. Mr ANDREW BLACKHALL, minister at Aberladie in East Lothian.

XXII. Mr ANDREW M'GIE, minister at Dirletoun in East Lothian.

XXIII. Mr JOHN AIRD, minister at Newbottle in Lothian.

XXIV. Mr JAMES PORTEOUS, minister at Leswad in Lothian.

XXV. Mr JOHN SMITH, minister at Maxtoun in Teviotdale. He had all the Psalms by heart, and alwayes, when he gave thanks before meat, he repeated a psalm, or some part of a long psalm. When he met with ane young man[1] intending the ministry, he used to draw them aside, and seriously and gravely exhort them and heartily bless them. He once took me off the street of Edinburgh into a house for that purpose.

XXVI. Mr JOHN KER, minister at Lyne in Tweddall,[2] a man that cared nothing at all for the world, lived most soberly, painfull

[1] "Any young men." [2] "Teviotdale."

among the people. He gave almost all that he had to the poor. He catechised all the beggars that came along, and then gave them liberally.

XXVII. Mr RICHARD DICKSON, minister at the West Kirk, by Edinburgh. For his opposing of Episcopacy and ceremonies after the Parliament 1621, he was prisoned in Dumbartan, but after some time was minister at Kinneell in West Lothian, where he died some years after the Reformation, 1638.

XXVIII. Mr ALEXANDER SOMERVEILL, minister at Dolphintoun, a grave, able preacher, one of a wise, meek disposition. He survived the Reformation, 1638.

XXIX. Mr ROBERT SCOT, minister at Glasgow. He was for nonconformity deposed, at which time my father also was for the same cause deposed, but shortly after they were both restored. I was with him when he died, at which time he gave ane honest testimony against the corruptions of the time, which is set down in the observations of my life.

XXX. Mr JAMES GREG, minister at Newmills in Cunninghame. He, with Mr Nathan English, were, for nonconformity, prisoned in the castle of Dumbartone, but thereafter restored. He preached with a great deall of earnest urgency and vehemency,[1] so that sometimes, with strikeing two fingers of the one hand on the palm of the other hand, the blood hath come out from the top of his fingers. I heard him say, that in one winter about fourty persons in that parish of the Newmills, who each of them were more than forty years old, had learned to read, that so they might read the Bible.

XXXI. Mr JOHN FERGUSHILL, minister at Ochiltree, who, after Mr Blair went to St Andrews, was transported to Air.

[1] "Of earnest and urging vehemency."

XXXII. Mr JAMES ENGLISH, minister at Dalie in Carrick.

XXXIII. Mr ROBERT GLENDINNING,[1] minister at Kirkcudbright in Galloway.

XXXIV. Mr JOHN MURRAY, minister at Dumfermling.

XXXV. Mr ELEAZER BORTHWICK, who had been minister of a Scots regiment in the King of Sweden's army, and was thereafter employed as an agent for the Crown of Sweden at the Court of England.

XXXVI. Mr DAVID DICKSON, after some years' profession of Philosophie in the Universitie of Glasgow, was first minister at Irvine about the year 1619 or 1620, and thereafter transported to be minister at Glasgow, and Professor of Theologie in that Universitie, about the year [1640;] and at last transported to be minister at Edinburgh, and professor in the colledge there, about the year 1649 or 1650;—a man singularly gifted with an edifying way of preaching, and whose painfull labours were eminently blessed with successe, especially while he was in Irvine. His conversing with those persons[2] in Stewarton, and other places of the West, on whose hearts the Spirit of the Lord had wrought in an extraordinary way, enabled him with much experience to deal with wakened consciences, and therefore was resorted to by such from all parts, yea, Christians from many other places of the countrey resorted to the communions at Irvine, twice in the year. I heard the Lady Culross tell, that at the Parliament 1621, at Edinburgh, which ratified the five superstitious ceremonies of Perth Assembly, on the day before the last day of that Parliament, when these things were to be concluded, all the honest unconform ministers that were in town were commanded by sound of trumpet to depart out of the town, except they had a warrand from some bishop.

1 "Clindinning."

2 Wodrow has written here, "the people."

They went out to the Sheins, near Edinburgh, and that last day spent in fasting and prayer; and from the morning till mid-day or after, severall of the faithfull aged ministers prayed, but that all of them were in bonds, and got not accesse to represent the present sad case of the Church; but that after a messenger from the town came and told that all these innovations were ratified, she motioned that Mr David Dickson, then but a young man, should be put to pray, which he did for near two hours' space, with great enlargement of heart on himself and all present, and expressed great confidence that yet hereafter the work of God would flourish in the land more than formerly, which accordingly came to pass; for a few years after, that work in Stewarton, and several other places of the West, and Clidsdale, began. I have heard him say, that when he entered first into the ministrie, he had no great scruple against Episcopacie and the ceremonies, but shortly after the Lord laid his hand on his body by sickness, and by a terrible pressure on his spirit, drave him to search and see the evill of these corruptions.

He was, for nonconformity, summoned before the High Commission Court, and because he gave to them in write a declinature, asserting that he could not acknowledge them as a competent judicatory over him in his ministrie, he was removed from Irvine, and confyned to Turreff in the North, where yet Mr Thomas Mitchell, the minister, employed him to preach every Sabbath-day; but I have heard him say he could not gett preached there as at Irvine, and yet he thought the devils of the North worse than the devills in the West; whereas one hour or two sometimes would have sufficed to study a preaching in Irvine, he behooved at Turreff on Thursday, at mid-day, lay aside all his other studies, and take the rest of that day, and Friday, and Saturnday, to study one preaching,[1] and yet even so he found not such assistance as formerly. I also heard him tell how some friends procured that he should come

[1] "Sermon."

to Glasgow in hopes that he might be reponed to Irvine, and when he came thither, it was proponed that if he would take up his declinatur, he might immediately goe to Irvine; but he perceived that should prove a receding from his testimony which he gave to the cause and truths of God. For severall dayes his friends, and many of them both wise and gracious persons, dealt with him to condescend, but he resolved, without clearness and light from God, he would not yield. He said that all these dayes he went in bonds, and got not access to God in prayer as formerly, only light from the word and Spirit remained not to forsake his testimony, and he determined, whatever way they urged him, all day to keep by that light he had by prayer in the morning, till he took it and all their reasonings before God at night, and finding no clearness from the Lord to change, although he said he was oft put by their reasonings that he had nothing at all to say, he continued so all the day.[1]

It was at last propounded, that he with any friend he pleased should only goe to the castle, and not see the bishop at all, but the paper lying on the hall-table, he should either lift it, or desyre his friend to lift it, and goe his way to Irvine; but finding such dealing to be a jugling in so weightie a matter, he refused any more medling;[2] and although within sixteen myles of Irvine, he took his horse and went back to Turreff. He said he was hardly a myle out of Glasgow till his soul was filled with such joy and approbation from God of his faithfullness, that he scarcely ever had the like in all his life, and within sometime by the dealing of some friends, without any conditions for him, he was returned to Irvine; but all the time of his absence, many Christians from Irvine and the West dealt earnestly with God for his restauration. Among the rest, a religious woman, Margaret Campbell, having been long at prayer, and meeting a Christian acquaintance, inquired what hopes there were of the minister's return, who said he thought there was no hope at all. Said she, "I shall not

[1] "Dayes."

[2] Wodrow has written on the margin, "Resolved not to meddle any more."

believe that, for just now I gott assureance of it in prayer, and shall go back again that same errand;" and went to prayer, and a new confirmation. This I heard from herself.

After his return to Irvine, he was the instrument of conversion and confirmation to many, and thereafter in Glasgow and Edinburgh, bred many able and godly young men for the ministrie. He made great help at the Reformation 1638, and thereafter some books, printed both in Latine and English, declare in part what a man he was.

When in December 1662, for refuseing the Oath of Supremacy, I was sentenced by the Councill with banishment, and within forty-eight houres to depart out of Edinburgh, I went to visit him, then lying on [his] death-bed. He told me, that as our acquaintance had continued near forty years, he was glad that now we both suffered for the same cause; for he also, upon that account, was removed from his place in the Colledge of Edinburgh. I enquired how he found himself. He said, "I have taken all my good deeds, and all my bad deeds, and casten them through other in a heap before the Lord, and have betaken me to Jesus Christ, and in him I have full and sweet peace." I enquired also what were his thoughts of present affairs? He said, "He was sure that Jesus Christ would not long sitt with such indignities done against his work and people." Within a few dayes after he dyed. He made a sweet little poem of the love of Christ,[1] which hath been often printed. He made also an acrostick on his own name, much resembling his condition, which hereafter follows:—

D iscouraged oft, but not deserted long,
A feeble soul supported in my need;
V exed with wandering thoughts, some good among,
I live in hope of help though I were dead.
D elivered, dwangt—delivered, dwangt again,
D wining in life, dead, living I remain.

[1] "True Christian Love," first printed in 1634, and very often republished.

D elighted now and then in Christ my Lord,
I spring apace, and yet languish anon;
C louds from my sin with Satan so concord,
K nown outgates I forget, as all were gone;
S o langour and delight, so[1] clouds made clear,
S owre sweetly weaves, and weares my time well near.[2]
O n Christ I'le press the more that sins me press,
U pon him shall my care and burden ly,
N ought else him please, nor ease can my distress,
E xcept I live in him, I cryn, I dye.
D ark, dumpish, deadly misbelief is bitter,
D elight in Christ, and strength through faith is fitter.

XXXVII. Mr SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, a most profound, learned man, a most plain and painfull minister, and a most heavenly Christian as was in his time. He was first a Professor of Humanity[3] in the Colledge of Edinburgh, thereafter minister at Anwoth in Galloway, thereafter, by the Generall Assembly of Glasgow, 1638, he was transported to be minister at St Andrews, and Professor of Theology[4] there, where he continued in the work of the Lord till *anno* 1661, at which time with great peace and joy he died. He had a most sharp pierceing witt, and fruitfull invention and solid judgement. He used ordinarly to rise be three a clock in the morning; he spent all his time either in prayer, or reading, or writting, or in visiting families in private, or in publick employments of his ministrie or profession. While he was at Anwoth, he was the instrument of much good among a poor ignorant people, many of which he brought to the knowledge and practise of religion, and was a great strengthener of all the Christians in that countrey, who had been the fruits of the ministry of Mr John

[1] Wodrow writes, "; my."
[2] It will be seen that some of these verses are like the Latin ones, scarcely intelligible.
[3] Written in Wodrow's handwriting, "Philosophie."
[4] "In the university."

Welsh, the time he had been minister at Kirkcudbright. At Anwoth he wrote his *Exercitationes de Gratia* against Jesuits and Arminians, which was then printed; for which, and for his nonconformity, the prelats summoned him before the High Commission, and because he declyned them, he was confyned to Aberdeen, where he remained about two years, from whence he wrote many letters, all of them breathing much of heaven, many of which are, since his death, printed. There also he disputted with Doctor Robert Barron anent the Arminian controversies. In that place he wanted not some fruits of his ministry by his privat labours, although he was not there permitted to preach in publick. When the change came, by renewing the Covenant in the year 1638, he returned to Anwoth, where he continued in his ministry till he went to St Andrews, where he bred many godly and able youths for the ministry, and took great pains, both in publick and private, among the people. He was very useful, being sent commissioner with some others to the Assembly of Divines in England. By his preaching, and by his pen, he opposed all the corruptions of his time, not only Popery, Prelacy, Arminianisme, and Socinianisme, but other sects that rose in England, as Anabaptisme and Familism, and vindicated Presbyteriall government against the grounds of Independentisme; and in all his disputs hath no reflections on persons, but marvellously handles the poynt of controversie. He also wrote "Lex Rex," asserting the lawful liberty of subjects. It is reported that when King Charles the First saw it, he said that book would hardly ever get ane answer. The Parliament, 1661, condemned it to be burnt by the hand of the hangman, and summoned him before them when he was lying on his death-bed. He much regrated[1] that he was not able to goe and suffer for the truth he had maintained; but the Lord prevented in that far this guilt of blood of the land, and took home his servant in peace.

[1] Was much troubled.—Wodrow.

PART III.

THE MINISTERS IN IRELAND WITH WHOM I HAD ACQUAINTANCE AND CONVERSE, FROM THE YEAR 1630 TO THE YEAR 1637, AND SOME WHEREOF WERE THEREAFTER MINISTERS IN SCOTLAND.

I. Mr ROBERT BLAIR, born in Irvine, was first a Regent in the Colledge of Glasgow, at which time also he began to preach in publick, and was from the beginning zealous for truth and piety. Meanwhile, Mr John Cameron was brought from France, and placed Principal of that University of Glasgow, that he might promote the cause of Episcopacy and ceremonies; and when on a time some theses were publickly disputed, Mr Cameron being preses, and Mr Blair impugning, Mr Blair drave the defendant to some difficultie, so as the preses[1] helping the defendant, did, in the heat of the disput, bring the answer to somewhat that tended to Arminianisme, although he was not at that time suspected of that error. Mr Blair prosecuting his advantage, and Mr Cameron being ashamed not to defend what he had once though rashly asserted, the hour stryking, ended the dispute; and the next day of disput, Mr Cameron urged Mr Blair to begin, who did most earnestly refuse, and intreated that another might be called to impugn; but when the other insisted in urgeing, he recapitulated the former daye's dispute, and offered to prosecute his argument against Mr Cameron's last answer, which so incensed Mr Cameron, finding himself so involved in the thorns, that he fell out in some impertinence, not far from railing, whereat the Rector, Mr Robert Scott, one of the town ministers, being present, rose and affirmed that Mr Blair had not violated the rules of dispute. Here Mr Cameron cryed out, "There is a faction." This he said because Mr Robert Scott was[2] against Episcopacy. Thus when the matter

1 "Mr Cameron."

2 "One of the town ministers, and."

was like to tend to[1] a tumult, the meeting was dissolved: and although they were shortly after, by the mediation of some, reconciled, yet Mr Cameron, still intending to have Mr Blair thrust out of the Colledge, did, by the help of one that had been Mr Blair's schollar, search all his[2] dictates, and found that in some of them, on Aristotle's politicks, he had maintained elective monarchie preferable to successive monarchy, the which he sent to the king, and, in the meantime, prevailed so with the Bishop of Glasgow and some others, that Mr Blair was forced to leave the Colledge; although King James, hearing of his dictats, made no great account of the matter. This was about the year 1623.[3]

After this, Mr Blair was invited by the Lord Clannybuy, and had a call, and was settled minister at Bangor, in the county of Doun, and was indeed a chief instrument in that great work of God that broke out thereafter in the Six-Myle-Water, and some other parts of the countie of Antrum and Doun, and elsewhere in the North of Ireland; and this not only by his own ministry, wherein he was both diligent and faithfull, but especially by stirring up other ministers, as Mr Robert Cunninghame, minister at Holywood, with whom he keeped a most intimate familiarity, and all the rest of the ministers hereafter named. One tyme, occasionaly hearing Mr James Glendinning, then minister at Oldstone, who at that time followed the Bishops and their way, but he finding him to have a rare gift, drew him aside, and dealt with him to follow another way of preaching, and to deal with people's consciences to waken them, which so prevailed with the man, that he fell upon a thundering way of preaching, and exceedingly terrified his hearers; and although thereafter he fell into some ravery, and in some distemper left the place, yet this proved a preparation to that people, that when thereafter the Lord sent among them Mr Josias Welsh, they were the fitter to receive the Covenant of free grace in the Gospell; and this proved the beginning of that remarkable work in the Six-Myle-Water.

[1] "End in." [2] "Mr Blair's." [3] "1621."

Mr Blair was a man of a notable constitution, both of body and mind,—of a majestick, awfull, yet amiable countenance,—one throughly learned, of strong parts, a deep invention, and solid judgement, of a most publick spirit for God. His gift of preaching was such as seldom any could observe withdrawing of assistance in publick, which in some others is frequent. He was seldom ever brangled in his assurance of salvation. He spent many dayes and nights in prayer alone, and with others, [and was] one very intimat with God. The Lord gave him express warning by that place, Ezek. xxiv. 16, of the death of his first wife, Beatrix Hamilton, which accordingly came to passe; and after that, the scattering of the Church in the North of Ireland. While he was attending at Court in England, for ane answer to his petition to the king, desyring that himself and some other ministers, who were by the Bishops falsly accused as Enthusiasts, might be tryed therein, and, being found innocent, might be somewhat forborn for their nonconformity, one day lying at prayer in Greenwich Park, while the Court was at hunting, the Lord assured him that he would hunt the violent man to destroy him. And while he was earnest with the Lord for some dispatch and answer to his petition, and adventured to propound a sign, that if the Lord would make the reeds growing near by, which were so moved by the wind as he was tossed in his spirit, to cease from shaking, he would take it as ane assureance of a dispatch,—within a little, there was such a calm, as none of the reeds once moved; and, accordingly, in a short time he got a dispatch to his mind. It is observable what a courtier at that time who favoured both his person and his cause, Sir Robert Ker of Ancrum, after made Earle of Ancrum, said to him, when he desired his help in his bussiness. [He] told him that "if he had killed his brother, and committed incest with his sister, he would have more hopes to help him, as matters stood, than in his bussiness of nonconformity,[1] seeing Bishop Laud guided all Church matters at Court." One time, as he journeyed, his horse broke

[1] "Especially."

away out of his hand, and although he had the help of three or four persons, could not be gotten catched. He said he was challenged because he had not made use of faith and prayer for getting of his horse again, and he retired to a quiet place and prayed, and so soon as he came back to the rest, the horse stood still till he was taken. He was once suspended, and twice deposed, by the Bishops in Ireland, after which he was the chief promoter of the intended voyage to New England; but when that was disappointed, and being in danger to be made prisoner in Ireland, he retired to Scotland, and at the change in the year 1638 was settled minister at Air, but shortly after, by the Generall Assembly, was transported to be minister at St Andrews, where he continued till the other change in the year 1660, after which he was thrust out by the Councill, and within four or five years after dyed.

II. Mr Robert Cunninghame was at first preacher for a while to the Earle of Buccleugh's regiment in Holland, but thereafter minister at Holywood, in the North of Ireland, where he had been some considerable tyme before Mr Blair came to Bangor. [He was] the one man to my discerning, of all that ever I saw, who resembled most the meekness of Jesus Christ in all his whole carriage, and was so far reverenced by all, even the most wicked, that he was oft troubled with that Scripture, "Wo to you when all men speak well of you." Yea, Mr Blair, speaking one time to the Bishop of Doun, said, "You may doe to me and some others as you please, but if ever you meddle with Mr Cunninghame, your cup will be full:" and, indeed, he was longer spared than any of the rest; and when the rest were deposed almost every week, he preached in some of their kirks, and so with pains at home and abroad he wearied and wore out his body, which was not very strong. He was sometimes in publick preaching, to his own sense, not so assisted as usually; but even then, the sweet convoy of the matter was such, that I thought these times as edifying and refreshfull as any other; but ordinarly he was born through with a full gaill, and had sometimes more sharp, piercing threatnings than

any other. One time I went with him to visite a family of two gracious persons, whose young child was overlaid the night before, and I observed that, beyond his usuall manner, he did not comfort them, but rather urged that the Lord was debaiting with them some secret controversie. When I enquired at him, after we were come out, how he came to doe so, he answered, he knew no particular, but as he came to the house, he dealt with the Lord to direct him what to say, and he could get nothing else but what he said.

I was with him when he dyed at Irvine in the year 1637, at which time, beside many other gracious expressions, he said one time, "I see Christ standing over death's head, and saying, Deall warrily with my servant; loose now this pin, now that, for this tabernacle must be set up again." When the ministers of the presbytrie came to see him, he exhorted them earnestly to be faithfull to God and to his people, and to oppose the Service Book, which at that time was urged, and the office of Bishops. He said, "The Bishops have taken away from me my ministrie, yea my life, for my ministry was dearer to me than my life." A little before his death, his wife sitting on the side of the low bed whereon he lay, and her hand in his, he did by prayer recommend the whole Church, the work of God in Ireland, the parish of Holywood, his brethren in the ministry, his children; and in end said, "And, last, O Lord, I recommend to thee this gentlewoman, who is no more my wife;" and with that saying, he softly loosed his hand from hers, and gently thrust her hand a little from him, at which both she and some others presently[1] burst out in weeping, which he by gracious expressions laboured to allay, but I have forgotten the particulars. One time when Mr Blair and I had been summoned before the Bishop to Baltephilips to be deposed, and had been the night before with Mr Cunninghame, and taken our leave of him, the next day, when we were going into the church of Baltephilips, he cometh to us, whereat we wondering, he said, "All this night I

1 "Present."

have gotten no rest when I thought of that place: At my first answer no man stood with me; therefore I am[1] to stand by you."

III. Mr GEORGE DUMBAR was at first minister at Air, from whence he was once and again thrust out by the Bishops. At the second tyme, when the messenger came to his house, whether to summond him or to intimate his sentence, I know not, a young daughter of his hearing the message, turned her, and said, "And Pharaoh's heart was hardened still." All that Mr George said, he calleth his wife, and said, Margaret, "Prepare the creells again," for the former time, the children being young, they behooved to carry them away on horseback in creells. He was thereafter minister by Lochlairn in Ireland, where on a day, in his sermon in publick, regrateing with great grief that he thought none of that people had ever gotten good by his ministry, one Robert Brown rose and said before them all that he had gotten good; and indeed there appeared thereafter a blessed change wrought both on him and severall others. Being deposed by the Bishop of Doun in Ireland, he came to Scotland, and after the change in the year 1638 he was minister at Calder in Lothian, where he dyed.

IV. Mr JOSIAS WELSH, the son of the famous Mr John Welsh, was provided by the Lord to bring the covenant of grace to that people of the Six-Myle-Water in Ireland, on whom Mr James Glendinning had wrought some legall convictions, having preached some time at Oldstone. He was thereafter settled minister at Templepatrick, where he had many seals of his ministry. He was much exercised in his own spirit, and, accordingly, much of his preaching was anent exercise of conscience. Being deposed by the Bishop of Doun, he continued preaching in his own house, and stood in a door of his own house that looked toward the garden, so as some heard in the house, and a great many that sat and stood in the garden. By this means, being but of a weak constitution,

[1] "Come."

and having many defluctions, and faulty lungs, he contracted cold, which occasioned his death about the year 1634. I was with him at his death, wherein he wanted not continuing exercise of his minde. One time he cryed out, "Oh for hypocrisie!" whereat Mr Blair said, "See how Satan is offering to nibble at his heels[1] before he enter into glory." A very little before he dyed, I being at prayer, hard by the low bedsyde where he lay, and that word "Victory" coming out in some of my expressions, he took hold of my hand, and desyred me to forbear a little, and clapping his hands together, cryed out, "Victory, victory, victory for evermore!" and then desired me to goe on. Within a little thereafter he expired.

V. Mr ANDREW STEWART, minister at Dunagor, a man very straight in the cause of God, continued not long in his ministry, but contracted sickness, and dyed some years before the great scattering came upon the North of Ireland, wherein, first, all the ministers were put away for nonconformity; thereafter, many professors were vexed and forced to flee, to avoid the oath there urged for abjureing the Covenant of Scotland. And at last the sword of the Irish rebells came on. When, at his death, he was demanded what he had to say concerning Ireland, he answered, he had nothing to say but what is in Jeremy xv. 2, "Such as are for death to death, and such as are for the sword to the sword, and such as are for the famine to the famine, and such as are for captivitie to the captivitie."

VI. Mr JOHN RIDGE, ane Englishman, minister at Antrim. He used not to have many points in his sermon, but those he had he so enlarged and urged again and again, that it was hardly possible for any hearer to forget his preaching. He was a great urger of charitable works, [and] a very humble man. I heard him once say, his tongue or his pen never gave him leave to call ane honest minister brother. He said also,[2] he was once in a part in Eng-

1 "How Satan is nibbling at his heels." 2 "I heard him also say."

land where he wearied exceedingly, because he could not find in it any object of outward charity. Being deposed by the Bishop of Doun, as others were, for his nonconformity, he came over to Irvine, where he dyed.

VII. Mr HENRY COLWART, ane Englishman, minister at Oldstone; one who very expeditly cited much Scripture in his preaching,[1] and oft urged privat fasting and prayer. Being deposed by the Bishops, he came to Scotland; and after the year 1638, was settled minister at Paislay, where he dyed.

VIII. Mr JAMES HAMILTON, a nephew of the Lord Viscount Clannybuie's, minister at Baltewater, a learned and painfull man. His gift of preaching was doctrinall rather than exhortatory. When he was deposed by the Bishop of Doun, he sustained a dispute for a long time against the Bishop, and those with him, in the church of Belfast, being full of people, confuting the errors of the Service Book and ceremonies, for [to] the satisfaction of many. After the year 1638, he was settled minister at Dumfreis, dureing which time, having gone a visit to Ireland, [he] was, in his return, taken at sea with Mr John Weir, minister at Dalsyrf, by some of Master M'Donald's men, and keeped prisoner in Migricastle, where Mr John Weir dyed. He, after long and sore imprisonment, was at last let out, and after that was, by the Generall Assembly, transported to be minister at Edinburgh; but after the change, 1660, he was, by the Secret Councill, put out of Edinburgh, and in a few years thereafter he dyed.

IX. Mr EDWARD BRYCE, minister at Bredisland, (who had before been minister somewhere besyde Dumbarton,) ane aged man that came not much abroad; one who, in all his preaching, insisted most upon the life of Christ in the heart, and light of his Word and Spirit in the mind, that being his own continual exercise.

1 "Sermons."

PART IV.

SOME OF THE FAITHFULL AND ABLE MINISTERS OF CHRIST, IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,[1] WHO ENTERED INTO THE MINISTRY AT OR AFTER THE BLESSED REFORMATION, IN THE YEAR 1638, AND DIED BEFORE THE DREADFUL CHANGE THAT CAME IN THE YEAR 1660.

I. Mr GEORGE GILLESPIE, minister first at Weems,[2] thereafter at Edinburgh, the son of Mr John Gillespie, minister at Kirkcaldie, did preach severall years before the year 1638, but could not get entry into any charge because of the Bishops. Dureing that time he lived some while in the family of the Earl of Cassills, where he wrote that elaborat piece of the English Popish ceremonies, now in print. He was the first that was admitted into the ministry by a presbytery, after the Bishops began to fall, *anno* 1638—a learned, sober, judicious man. Being sent Commissioner from the Church of Scotland to the Assembly of Divines at London, he promoted[3] much the work of reformation, and attained to a gift of clear, pressing, strong, and calm debateing above any man in his time. Once when both Parliament and Assembly were met, and a long prepared speech was delivered for Erastianisme, so as it was thought no man in a short space could answer it; he being urged by the rest of the Scots Commissioners, rose up, and repeated the speech almost word be word, and refuted it to the admiration of all. And whereas, in those days every man used to take notes in a little book of the heads of what was spoken, that, if need were, he might answer in order,—when his book was looked there was nothing of the speech written in it, but here and there, "Lord, send light; Lord, give assistance; Lord, defend thy own cause!" He was Moderator of the Generall Assembly at Edin-

[1] "OF MY ACQUAINTANCE." [2] "Kirkaldie." [3] "Promoved."

burgh, 1648, when the engadgement against England was condemned. Shortly after, he sickened and died. I heard him once say, when he went to England he was hardly a moneth there but he was in danger[1] to turn a sectary,[2] and was hardly a moneth again in Scotland but he was in danger to turn a malignant.[3] This he said because sectaries so abounded in England, and malignants in Scotland. He wrote and printed Aaron's Rod Blossoming.

II. Mr JOHN M'LELLAN, minister at Kirkcudbright. He was first schoolmaster in Newton in Ireland, where he bred several hopefull youths for the colledge, and being tryed and approven by the honest ministers in the countie of Doun, he preached oft publickly in their kirks. Being deposed and excommunicat by the Bishops, he travelled somewhile through the countie of Tyron and Dunagall, and preached the gospell at privat meetings; and being pursued, he changed his habit, and came to Scotland, where, in the year 1638, he was admitted to Kirkcudbright, where he continued till about the year 1650, at which time he dyed, not without suspicion of being wronged by a witch. He was a most straight and zealous man, and knew not what it was to be afraid in the cause of God,—one early[4] acquainted with God and his ways. About harvest 1648, Mr Blair and he, lying in two beds in John Mein's gallery in Edinburgh, John Mein came in to them one morning, and told them he had been in the street, and heard that the English army had taken King Charles' life. He saith, before Mr Blair and John Mein, "I know that it is a truth, for I dreamed that I saw the king brought out of a window of his own house, and his head struck off." It was thought by many that he had somewhat of the spirit of prophesie. He told many sad things would come on England, and "because, (said he,) they promised Christ a good turn, and have disappointed him." I heard him say, The day was coming when the sons and posteritie of the nobles in Scotland would be begging from the kirk boxes, and deny that they were come of such a house.

[1] "Hazard of danger." [2] "Malignant." [3] "Sectary."
[4] Written by Wodrow, "nearly."

III. Mr JAMES DURHAM, minister at Glasgow, a profound, prudent, pious, and humble divine. He was Laird of Pourie Durham in Angus, but after he had been married and had children, being pressed in spirit, and urged by godly and able ministers and professors, he came, in the year ——, to the Universitie of Glasgow, and studied divinitie, where, in a short time, he profited so as he might have been a Professor of Divinitie in any universitie in Europe. He was presently fixed minister at Glasgow. In the year 1650, when King Charles the Second came to Scotland, he, as most fitt for his gravitie, learning, wisdom, and piety, was unanimously chosen by the Generall Assembly to be minister to the king's family, where he continued sometime, not without great approbation and some success, as might have been expected at such a time, and in such a place; yea, he offered to goe[1] with the king when he went in towards Worcester; but not finding suiteable acceptance, he returned to Glasgow, and continued in his ministry till the year 1658, at which time he dyed, being[2] about thirty-six years old. His Book of Scandall, his Exposition of the Revelation and of the Song, with many other pieces not yet printed or published, show what rare gifts God had bestowed on him.

IV. Mr ANDREW GRAY, minister at Glasgow.

V. Mr HUGH BINNING, minister at Govan.

VI. Mr DAVID VETCH, minister there.

VII. Mr ALEXANDER JAMISON, minister also there.

VIII. Mr EPHRAIM MELVILL, minister at first at Queensferrie, afterward at Linlithgow.

IX. Mr ROBERT MELVILL, minister at Symprin, a son of the

[1] "Have gone." [2] "But."

Laird of Halhills. For many years he preached ordinarly at Culross with Mr Robert Colvill, minister in the place; but for his aversness at Episcopacie and the ceremonies [he] could not get entry in any church till after the year 1638. One day, preaching afternoon in Culross, and seeing in the church Mr Adam Ballantin, then Bishop of Dumblain, who before time, when he was minister at Falkirk, had shewed great zeal against Episcopacie, and in severall meetings and papers had joyned with honest ministers, in the end of the sermon, he turned to him, and put him in mind of his former way, and what course he was now upon, and admonished him to repent. The other, though highly offended, yet would not suffer him to be censured. One Sabbath in the year 1648, he preaching in publick, one of the souldiers of the engadgement drew his sword and struck at him in the pulpitt, but it pleased the Lord it hitt him not.

X. Mr JAMES FORBES, minister at Abercorn, son of Mr John Forbes, who, for keeping the Assembly at Aberdeen, was condemned at Linlithgow, and was after minister of the English Church in Midleburgh, an able and zealous preacher, who after every sermon behooved to change his shirt, he spoke with such vehemency and sweating. Every year he gave the communion four times.

XI. Mr JOHN DURIE, minister at Dalmany, a man of most rare invention and gift of preaching.

PART V.

SOME OF THE FAITHFULL AND ABLE MINISTERS OF JESUS CHRIST, OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, OF MY ACQUAINTANCE, WHO ENTERED INTO THE MINISTRY AT OR AFTER THE BLESSED REFORMATION, IN THE YEAR 1638, AND DYED AFTER THE DREADFULL CHANGE,[1] 1660.

I. Mr JAMES GUTHRIE, minister first at Lauder, thereafter at Stirling. Before the year 1638, he was a Regent in St Andrews, and at that time was much for Episcopacie and ceremonies; but after the Lord had discovered to him the evill of these wayes, no man was more forward against them. He was one of a very publick spirit, a great enemy to all error and profaneness, alike against malignants and sectaries; a great opposer of the publick resolutions in the years 1650 and 1651. Being then conveened before the Secret Councill for somewhat delated in his sermon, he declyned the Councill, as not being competent judges, in the first instance, of his doctrine, as some ministers had done in the Church of Scotland before, dureing the time of the English ruleing in the land in the year 1651 to 1660. He continued in his ministry at Stirling, and keeped a greater distance from the English and their way than many others. But in August 1660, when he and some ten[2] other ministers and one gentleman are mett in a privat chamber for drawing up a supplication to the king, congratulating his return to his government, and petitioning that he would mind his oath and covenant to God and the work of reformation, he with the rest are seized on by the Committee of Estates and imprisoned; and after that the Parliament, in the year 1661, condemned him to death for his declyning the Councill. He was hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh, June 1, 1661, being a martyr for the Cove-

[1] "THAT CAME IN THE YEAR."

[2] "Ten," omitted in another MS.

nant and work of reformation. His speech on the scaffold is in print in Nephtali.

II. Mr JAMES SIMSON, minister at Airth, a very able and materiall preacher. In the year 1660 he was imprisoned by the Committee of Estates, and thereafter by the Parliament in the year 1661, got summonds of treason, and demanding time to answer, he is sent back to prison, and in the meantime banished; and in the year 1662 came to Holland, and stayed sometime in Leyden, and after that in Utricht, where he died in the year ——.

III. Mr WILLIAM GUTHRIE, minister at Finnick, a man of a most ready gift[1] and fruitfull invention, with most apposit comparisones fitt both to awaken and pacifie consciences,—straight and stedfast in the publick cause of Christ. He was a great light in the West of Scotland. He was much and often troubled with the gravell, whereof he dyed in the year 1665, 10th October, in the town of Brichan in Angus.

IV. Mr ALEXANDER DUNLOP, minister at Pasley, one who was fitted to have been a Professor of Divinity, and had most of the English controversies solidly drawn up in write.

V. Mr JAMES WOOD, minister at St Andrews, and Professor of Theologie there: one of a sharp witt, and clear distinct expression. He marvelously refuted Independentisme, and asserted Presbyterian government in his answer to Mr Nicolas Locker's "Little Stone Hewn out of the Mount." After 1660, he was put out of his charge by the Councill, and at his death gave a fair testimony in write against Episcopacie and the defection of the time.

VI. Mr MATTHEW MOWAT, minister at Kilmarnock: one of a meek, sweet disposition, straight and zealous for the truth. After

[1] Wit.—Wodrow.

the year 1660 he was put from his charge, and before his end he wrestled long with much bodily infirmity. He died *anno* ——.

VII. Mr ADAM KAE, minister at Borg.

VIII. Mr JOHN DUNCAN, minister at Dundrennan.

IX. Mr WILLIAM JACK, minister at Carluke.

X. Mr WILLIAM BROWN, minister at Linlithgow, thereafter at Carnwath.

PART VI.

SOME OF THE PROFESSORS IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, EMINENT FOR GRACE AND GIFTS.—[AND, FIRST,] THOSE OF WHOM I HAVE ONLY HEARD.

I. HUGH KENNEDY, provost of Aire. John Stuart, provost of Aire, told me that one night, about three a'clock in the morning, Hugh Kennedy came to him, and called him up, and took him with him to prayer; for, said he, my son John, and those with him that are coming home by sea, are at this instant in great perill of their lives; and, after some houres prayer, he said, "Now they are safe." John Stewart wrote[1] up the day of the moneth, and found, when the ship came home, that that night they struck upon a rock, and with great difficulty got off. He told me also that one day a man in the town had thrown in the water ane sleik[2] and a sea-chest of one of the provost's sons;—the provost meeting him, said to the man, "Were it not for the aw of God and place that I bear, I judge that you deserve that I should trade you under my feet." The night after, about two or three o'clock in the morning,

[1] "Notted." [2] "Slyk."

the provost came to John Stewart, and called him up, desyring him to goe with him, shewing him he could not eat nor sleep because he had spoken such injurious boasting words to that man, and, therefore, as he had confessed his fault to God, he behooved to goe and confess it to the man. They went to the man's house: the man hearing it was the provost, drew his sword, and laid it naked in the bed behind him, fearing to be assaulted. The provost fell down on his knees before the bed, and said, "Brother, I wronged you, and the office I bear, in boasting and threatening you, and I can get no rest till you forgive me;" and would not rise till the man solemnly forgave him.

II. PATRICK M'LEWRATH, a husbandman in Carrick. John Whytford of Balloch told me that this Patrick, when he was a young man, served his father, and was grieve over the shearers in harvest; and that his father did chyde him oft that he rose not tymely enough to conveen the shearers. Whereupon, Patrick having heard that what any would seek from God in prayer they would obtain, resolved to pray to God that he might rise betimes in the morning; and one night, when they were coming home, he lay down between two ridges to pray, but considering that he would be missed in the house, resolved to delay his prayer till he were going to his bed. He lay in a high loft alone, and forgot his resolution till he was sleeping in his bed; and then remembering his resolution, fell down on his knees before the bed, being in his shirt, but that he continued in prayer till fair day light, and found neither cold nor weariness, but put on his cloathes and gathered the shearers, and that for about three moneths after he never sleeped any at all, and yet did all his work as before, and lay down every night; and some enquired what he did in the night, seeing he sleeped not, he answered, "He was never so bussie all his time as then, wondering and praising God for the new world he was brought to." He told me also that one day Patrick was called home out of the field, because his eldest son was dead, and that he went and closed himself in a room, and stayed long; and after some friends had con-

veened, he came out, looking very cheerfully; and when some enquired how it came he looked[1] so cheerfull, he said he would not care to loss a son every day, on condition that he got such access to God as then he had found. He told me also that Patrick used to meet with other two who had such a work on their hearts[2] as he had; and after they had mutually imparted their experiences, two of them sitting on a furm, and the third on a chair before the furm, they all took other in their armes, and shook to and again, and uttered their voice in a kind of cruneing singing way, but not uttering any articulate words, and yet the tears running down from them; for at that time they did not yet understand that there was any such exercise as Christians to pray together, for this was before Mr James English came to be minister at Dalie. Also, he told me that on a day when Patrick had been at a meeting of a marriage-feast, he met Patrick coming home, and enquired of him who was there: if the Laird of Carleton, if Mr James English, if such others were there. Patrick said, "Will you believe me?" Balloch replyed, "I will believe you as much as any man in the world." Then saith Patrick, "If I may be believed, I cannot tell who was there. I did eat my dinner, but my mind was so taken up with some other thoughts, that in truth I cannot tell you who was present or absent."

III. THOMAS FLEEMING, who lived in King James his court in England. I have very many gracious letters of his that he sent to my father.

IV. BARTHOLOMEW FLEEMING, merchant in Edinburgh, a most religious man, and a great intertainer and encourager of all honest ministers and professors of his time. He went to London to be cut of the stone, and dyed after he was cut, and was burried without the Service Book, and laid in a grave hard by Mr John Welsh.

[1] "How he came to look." [2] "Spirit."

V. Dame LILIAS GRAHAM, COUNTESS OF WIGTON, a daughter of the Earl of Montrose, who was Chancelor of Scotland, a most devout woman, and pious lady, to whom Mr John Welsh wrote that rare letter out of Blackness. I have oft seen her when I was a little child at my father's house at Monyabrough, at preachings and communions. Her chamber-maid, that waited on her, told that so soon as she rose and put on her night-gown, before she went to her study for her devotion, she used to sitt in a chair till that woman combed her head, having the Bible open before her, and reading and praying among hands, and every day at that time, said the woman, she shed more tears then ever I did all my life time.

VI. NICOLAS MURRAY. I have severall of her letters to my father, and to the Lady Ardross, full of rich experience and tender affection.

VII. EUPHAN M'CULLEN, a poor woman in the parish of Kinneucher, but rich in faith. I have heard the Lady Culross say these things following of her, that she seldom ever prayed but she got a positive answer. At one time, the Lady Culross desired her to pray for her in regard of the outward condition of her family; and when she enquired what answer she gott, Euphan said the answer was, "He that provides not for his own house hath denyed the faith." Whereat the Lady said, "Now you have killed me; for I goe to preachings and communions here and there, neglecting the care of my[1] family." Effie replyes, "Mistris, if you be guilty in that,[2] you have reason to be humbled for it; but it was not said in that sense to me; but the Lord said, 'I that have said, he that provides not for his own is worse than an infidell, will not I provide her and her house, seeing she is mine?'" At another time the Lady Culross and her sister-in-law, the Lady Halhill, and some other ladies, being at a communion in Kinneuchar, desired Effie to

[1] "Own." [2] "Sort."

pray for them. When she came again, she told the Lord had said to her, "Goe, thow little worm, and say to the[1] great worms that they tremble before me." She told the Lady Culross that when the minister of the parish, Mr John Carmichael, was deadly sick, she prayed, and got ane answer that for ane year's time he should be spared; and when, after the year's end, he fell sick again, "I went (said she) to pray yet again for his life; but the Lord left me not in a mouse's likeness: and said, 'Beast that thou art, shall I keep my servant in pain for thy sake?' and when I said, 'Lord, what then shall I doe?' he answered me, 'He was but a reed that I spoke through, and I will provide another reed to speak through;' and thereafter, when we got Mr Henry Rollok for our minister, who was far short of Mr John Carmichael, I went with a new complaint to the Lord that I could not profit by him as I had done before; and the answer I got was, 'Thou must take the letter out of the Lord's hand, for the word is mine.'" Mr Blair told me, that while he was Regent in the Colledge of Glasgow, one vacance going to Inverness to see Mr Robert Bruce, he went by the way and saw Effie M'Cullen. She enquired if he was a preacher, when he said to her, Yes. She saith, You look over fine like with your bulkie ruff; if you resolve to be a minister, you must have the tarr pigg by your belt, and be ready to give a smott to every one of Christ's sheep as they come in your way. He would needs give her a dollar, and heard thereafter that she bought baps and sybows[2] with it all, and gave to all the poor as they came by so long as it lasted.

[1] "Tell the."

[2] Bread and onions.

PART VII.

SOME OF THE PROFESSORS IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, OF MY ACQUAINTANCE, WHO WERE EMINENT FOR GRACE AND GIFTS.

I. WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM of Dolphintoun, tutor of Bonningtoun, who spent ordinarly the most part of every forenoon only in prayer, reading, and meditation on the Scripture. When some enquired how he could stay so long at prayer, he answered, "If he got not access to God, he could not come away till he obtained it, and when he got accesse, it was so sweet he could not leave it." He told me he was present with John of the Score when he was execute at Edinburgh: one of the robbers in Annandale, so ignorant of God that he had scarce heard of Jesus Christ, but who proved at his end a most remarkable example of repentance. He told me also he was present when William Carmichael of Redmyre or Rountreecross (for I remember not which of the two was his style) was executed at Douglasse: one who had ane estate of his own, but, out of very vanity and wickedness, fell to robb and spoil his neighbours, and hereby being in danger of his life by the law, fled to Ireland, and returning, was seized on by the Earle of Angus, and adjudged[1] to be hanged. The next day, when the tutor went to speak to him in prison, he would not believe they would take his life, because he was a gentleman, and in kin to the Earle of Angus. He desyred the tutor to goe to the Earle and try his minde. When the tutor came back and told he behooved to die, he said, "Ah, it's the saddest news that ever came to a man in the strength of flesh and blood to tell him he must die;—I have much to doe in a short time;" and all that night was in a fearfull wrestling, like one distracted: but about four o'clock in the morning desyred the tutor to be called to him, and told him he had gotten

[1] "Condemned."

assureance of salvation, and desyred my father to be sent for from Lanerk to be with him; and when he was brought forth to execution, spoke much and well to the people, to the melting of the hearts of many; and being on the ladder, he desyred the executioner not to throw him over untill he with his elbow gave[1] him a sign, and then spoke out, "Lord, I hope thou wilt not let me perish, and the name of thy sweet Son, Jesus Christ,[2] in my mouth; and that name shall not goe out of my mouth so long as I have breath. Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me; Jesus Christ, receive my soul:" and so continuing, gave with his elbow a sign to the man to throw him over.

II. WILLIAM RIDGE of Adderny, one much exercised in spirit, and experienced in the ways of God, and most zealous in the cause of God. When he was baillie of Edinburgh, he gave great evidence that he had the spirit of a magistrat beyond many, being a terror to all evil-doers. He was for some time prisoner in Blackness, because he would not communicat kneeling at the communion after they had brought it in at Edinburgh, although himself might have been allowed to sitt. The Lady Culross wrote to him in prison, that the darkness of Blackness was not the blackness of darkness. He had a good patrimony, and employed it well. I have heard ——— Ridge of Carberry say, "I have been on his accounts, and to my certain knowledge he spends yearly more on pious uses than all my estate is worth, and mine will be toward eight or nine thousand merks by year;" and yet he would hardly ever give any thing at all to the vagrant sturdie beggers. I have been often[3] with him at privat meetings when he hath prayed, and observed that alwayes he began with most heavie and bitter complaints, and confessions deeper than any that I have heard; and[4] sundry tymes before he ended he expressed unspeakable assureance, and joy, and thanksgiving, but sometimes also he continued and ended just as he began. Once when he had attained

[1] "Till with his elbow he should give."
[2] "Christ" omitted.
[3] "Several times."
[4] "But."

to great liberty and access in prayer, some (for trying if he could be put off his byass) motioned that immediatly he should be put to pray again; and being much urged by those that were present, he condescended, but began just in his uswall discouraged strain. I heard him say, when, after the reformation 1638, something seemed to appear in the Generall Assembly as tending to restrain privat meetings of Christians for mutuall edification; "I think," saith he, "that the Church of Scotland is just like Adam in Paradise, that cannot continue in integrity a moment."

III. ALEXANDER GORDON of Earlestoun, a man of great spirit, but much subdued by inward exercise, and who attained the most rare experiences of douncasting and uplifting. He refused to be made a knight when it was offered him. For wisdom, courage, and righteousness, he might have been a magistrate in any part of the earth. Before his death he was visited with a palsie, so as he could not put meat in his own mouth, which possibly came through a great cutt he had got in his face when he was a young man, whereby he had lost much blood.

IV. ALEXANDER GORDON of Knockgray, a rare Christian in his time. His chief, the Laird of Lochinvar, put him out of his land mostly for his religion; yet being thereafter restored by that man's son, Lord Viscount of Kenmure, he told me the Lord had blessed him so as he had ten thousand sheep.

V. ROBERT GORDON of Knockbraks, a single-hearted and painfull Christian, much employed at parliaments and publick meetings after the year 1638. He had also two brethren,[1] very gracious persons, John Gordon of Knockbraks, and Alexander Gordon of Garleuch, in whose house I was once at a privat meeting, where, beside Earlestoun and Knockgray, [were] John Gordon of Bar-

[1] The edition of the *Characteristics* printed in 1773 has the following sentence:—"They all three suffered for religion. The two younger brothers were executed on one gibbet, and embracing each other in their arms, did so expire."

skaigh, John M'Adam, and Christian M'Adam, of the house of Waterhead, and some others, all eminent Christians.

VI. CATHCART of Carletoun in Carrick, an old experienced Christian. I heard once Mr Robert Cunninghame, minister at Holywood, say, that being once at a communion in Dalie, he and some others being in conferrence with Carletoun, he thought all the doubts and questions that they proponed[1] to him, were but like poor questions of raw fresh souldiers proponed to ane old commander in warr. I have been sometimes in his house all night, where the ordinary was, that he being alone at prayer in a chamber at the end of the hall, they durst not call him out till all the family was conveened, and cushans cast doun; and then being called out, he fell doun to pray,[2] and prayed both earnestly and confidently, and so soon as he had done, ran back to his chamber to prayer, scarce ever taking notice who were in the hall, untill the meat being set on the table, he was called out, and then if any strangers were present, he welcomed them and intertained them kindly.

VII. FULLERTON of Carletoun in Galloway, a grave and chearfull Christian.

VIII. JOHN MEIN, merchant in Edinburgh, a solid and stedfast professor of the truth of God. He used summer and winter to rise about three in the morning, and alwayes sing some psalm as he put on his cloathes, and spent till six o'clock alone in religious exercises, and at six worshiped God with his family, and then went to his shop. He, with William Ridge of Adderny, and John Hamilton the apothecary, were censured because they would not, in Edinburgh, communicat with kneelers. Adderny was prisoned in Blackness; John Hamilton, because many great persons and ladies might not want his help, was spared. He was confyned in Elgine of Murray. Because of his early riseing, he could not

1 "Propounded." 2 "He went to prayer."

refrain from sleeping, both after dinner and supper; and yet one time, when a minister was speaking on the chapter that was read after the meall,[1] and had miscited a place of Scripture, he, although half-sleeping, told the true chapter and verse[2] cited, and all the time of his being in the North he was freed from that sleeping; and having got liberty for a few dayes to come home, King James dying in the meantime, he stayed still at home. The ministers of Edinburgh, who were conform, and kneeled, desyred no more but that he and the rest would promise to live peaceably with their ministers, which, as the case was stated, they had not freedome to doe. He told me, that one day ane honest minister, Mr James English at Dalie, was dealling with him on the street to yield to that proposition, and my father coming by occasionally, Mr James calls him, and sayes, "What shall we say to[3] this man that refuseth to promise to live peaceably with his ministers, seeing he is bound to live peaceably with all men?" My father, before having[4] heard of the bussiness, only reported a history that, at the massacre of Paris, they were carrying a religious Protestant lady to the Seyne to be drouned, and some Papists meeting them, and knowing her to be a sober discreet woman, prevailed[5] with the murderers that if she would but[6] say over these[7] words, Ave Maria, she should be saved. She answered, "I know these two words are a part of the Word of God; but if you would bid me say Pater Noster, as a token of my denying my religion, and joyning with you, I would not say it;" and so was carried to the river, and drouned a martyr to Christ's truth. I heard him say, that being one day in a chamber in the house in the moore near to Edinburgh, he confessed that once he had spent a whole night in prayer in that room, and had seen a light in it greater than ever was the light of the sun.

IX. JOHN STEWART, Provost of Ayr, a godly and zealous Christian, of a long standing. He was one in that intended voyage from Ireland to New England, who were all put back again. He

[1] "After meat." [2] "Of the place." [3] "Do with."
[4] "Having before." [5] "So far." [6] "Only." [7] "Two."

had a great impediment in his speech, and stutting [stammering] so as one could hardly understand what he said; and yet I have oft heard him pray as distinctly as any man could speak.

X. WILLIAM RODGER, merchant in Air, who also dwelt sometyme in Colrain in Ireland.

XI. ADAM LATIE, apothecary in Edinburgh.

XII. JOHN HAMILTON, apothecary in Edinburgh.

XIII. CHARLES MOWAT. He keeped many a blessed[1] meeting in Nicolas Balfour's house in Edinburgh; he waited on the Earle of Buchan, and his affairs, at Edinburgh and London.

XIV. JOHN FLEEMING, merchant in Edinburgh.

XV. ROBERT LOCHART, merchant in Edinburgh.

XVI. JAMES LAWSON, tailyor in Edinburgh.

XVII. JAMES MURRAY, wryter in Edinburgh, an Israelite indeed in whom was no guile.

XVIII. ELIZABETH MELVILLE, LADY CULROSS, the daughter of the Laird of Hallhill, who professed he had got assureance from the Lord, that himself, wife, and[2] children, should meet in heaven. She was famous for her piety, and for her dream anent her spirituall condition, which she put in verse, and was by others published. Of all that ever I saw, she was most unwearied in religious exercises; and the more she attained accesse to God therein, she hungered the more. At the communion in the Shotts, in June 1630, when the night after the Sabbath was spent in prayer by a great

[1] "Private." [2] "All his."

many Christians, in a large room where her bed was, and in the morning all going apart for their privat devotion, she went into the bed, and drew the curtains, that she might set herself to prayer. William Ridge of Adderny coming into the room, and hearing her have great motion upon her, although she spake not out, he desired her to speak out, saying, that there was none in the room but him and her woman, as at that time there was no other. She did soe, and the door being opened, the room filled full. She continued in prayer, with wonderfull assistance, for large three hours' time.

XIX. ——— FLEEMING, LADY ROBERTLAND, one deeply exercised in her minde, and who often got as rare outgates. She was a great help to the poor people in Stewartoune when they were awakened: she had a strange way of continuing a spirituall discourse under the similitudes of outward and worldly things. I heard her say, speaking of God, "With Him the most of mosts is lighter than nothing, and without Him the least of leasts is more than my burden."[1] After she had attained for many years to as much assureance and stability as any in her time, yet I found her in Edinburgh, about winter in 1649, in as great doubts and darkness as ever before; but many battles brought many victories.

XX. Dame CHRISTIAN HAMILTON, LADY BOYD, a rare patern of Christianity, grave, diligent, and prudent. She used every night to write what had been the case of her soul all the day, and what she had observed of the Lord's dealing.

XXI. Dame ANNA LIVINGSTON, COUNTESS OF EGLINTON, although bred at Court, yet proved a subdued and eminent Christian, and ane encourager of piety and truth.

XXII. Dame MARGARET LIVINGSTON, COUNTESS OF WIGTOUN.

[1] Wodrow writes on the margin, "Heavier than any burden."

XXIII. Dame ANNA CUNINGHAME, LADY MARQUESS OF HAMILTON.

XXIV. Dame MARGARET CUNINGHAME, LADY CALDERWOOD.[1]

XXV. LADY REATH.

XXVI. Dame LEARMOUNT, LADY HALHILL.

XXVII. Dame ——— BROWN, LADY INNERTEEL.

XXVIII. ——— MONTEITH, LADY FORDELL HENDERSONE.

XXIX. Dame ——— ERSKIN, LADY BINNING. Before the time that the Service Book was to be brought into Edinburgh, *anno* 1637, she sent for me, and told me that some friends had advised her that some dayes before it should be read, she should change her seat out of the chief kirk where it was to be first read; but, said she, "that is some denying of my testimony to the truth; I [have] resolved to continue in my seat, and when it is read to rise and goe out:" and she desyred me to advise with some honest ministers if they approved of her resolution. At that time, much of her neck and shoulders being bare, she said, "It is a wonder that you or any honest man should look on me or stay in my company, for I am dressed rather like a [strumpet] than like a civill woman; but the truth is, I must either be thus drest, or my lord will not suffer me in the house;" and while she thus said, the tears did not drop, but run down, so as she was fain no[2] to take notice of them.

XXX. MARION M'NAUGHT.—*Cætera desiderantur.*

[1] "The Lady Marqueses sister."

[2] "Forced not."

LETTERS

FROM

ELIZABETH,

DAUGHTER OF SIR JAMES MELVILL OF HALHILL, AND WIFE OF JOHN, LORD COLVILL OF CULROSS,

TO

MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE.

NOTE.

In Livingstone's Characteristics, p. 346, we have already seen his short account of Lady Culross, and it prompts the desire to know something farther of one so eminent.

The following letters will show the intimacy that continued to subsist between Livingstone and her, and are printed here, at once as a Supplement to his *Life*, and as a memorial of a lady who occupied a prominent place among the devout of her age. She is known as the authoress of "Ane Godlie Dream," which is said to be a piece of great poetical merit, and has been frequently printed.

It is difficult to fix the dates of the different letters with precision. They are printed from a transcript of the originals, which are in the possession of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., who has kindly allowed the Wodrow Society to use them for that purpose.

We may here notice, that it was at one time designed to print another Supplement to Livingstone's *Life*, namely, a small tract by his father, the Rev. William Livingstone of Lanark, containing an account of the remarkable experience of one of his parishioners. Though less distinguished than his son, he was eminent in his day, and much consulted by those who were under spiritual trouble. He was also a sufferer in those unsettled times, being at one period deposed, and at another summoned before the High Commission, for employing his son to assist him at a communion in Lanark, soon after the latter had been deposed by one of the Bishops in Ireland. William Livingstone was one of the band of brothers who attended Welsh and the warded ministers when tried and condemned at Linlithgow; and that he was held in high repute by his contemporaries, may be inferred from the fact that he was on the leet for the office of Moderator of the General Assembly, when Alexander Henderson was chosen, in 1638. He died at the age of sixty-five, in the year 1641.

But it has been thought that the Tract referred to is no meet memorial of one so eminent in his day, and this brief notice is substituted in its place. The members of the Wodrow Society will find a short account of Livingstone of Lanark in Row's Historie, page 390.

LETTERS, &c.

LETTER I.

[" In the following letter allusion is made to a domestic quarrel of the Eglintoun family, thus explained in the Memoirs of James Mitchell of Dykes, in the parish of Ardrossan, printed at Glasgow, 1759.—'At Pasche (1624[1]) he (my Lord Eglintoune) warned me from the rest of my mail-rooms in Salt-coats and East Mains, having taken my farm-room from me of before, and now purposing to leave me none but my piece heritage. None looked that ever I should have gotten liberty to labour it again; yet when Martinmas came, it pleased the Lord to raise up a number of instruments to interceed for me—my Lady, Mr David Dickson, Mr John Glassford, Monkridding, besides sundry others country gentlemen; who with great difficulty, and much ado, obtained me liberty to labour that year. The next year comes, and he warns me at the church-door in like manner. The most part of many of my neighbours thought that I should never have gotten liberty to labour it; yet it pleased the Lord, beyond all men's expectation, to find out a mean, which in all likelihood seemed to have drawn my greatter overthrow, and yet brought it about for my good. The mean and instrument both was Helena Livingstone, at that time when my Lady was jealous of her, and put

[1] This date, together with some statements in the narrative of Mitchell, seem to assign this letter to the year 1626 or 1627. Livingstone began to preach in 1625.

her away, for my Lord her husband. I loved the gentlewoman, and stood her friend first and last, and conveyed her to Edinburgh ; for the which my Lord began to give me his kindness and goodwill, because of my carriage towards her, who suffered sakelessly for his cause : on the other hand, matters were so conveyed by God's providence, that my Lady took no exception against me,' p. 76."—*MS. Note by C. K. Sharpe, Esq.*]

My werry worthy and deir Brother,

I AM glade that ye have bein so weill excersysed this whyll that ye culd neither spend a hour's rydding, being within thre myls, nor yet a quarter of ane hour's wreitting upon me. Ye promised otherwys q^{n} we parted: for ye knew how ernist I wes to heare of your sister's cace, also q^{t} cours ye wes myndit to tak. Bot I will help you to mak ane excuse. It apeirs that ye have iudgit me by your self, "out of sicht out of thocht." Tho' it wes so with you, yet it wes not so with me. Iff ye had tane journay in haist, as I aprehendit, I wold have degested all, bot staying so long, and wisiting other freinds, I think ye micht have spent a hour or two upon me among the rest. When I aprehendit that ye wes neir the end of your jurnay, they told me that ye wes preaching in Dunfermling, q^{lk} I culd not beleve at the first, considering q^{t} charge ye gat, for that is a moir publict place then any that ye have bein in ; bot q^{n} I gat certane word, I thocht ye had rane a hazard. Since it is so, I wish it may do gude to others, and no hurt to you nor the rest, nor to that bussines ye have in hand. If ye had not sein Mr Robert Colvill, I wold have heard no word at all from you, bot I will quarrell you no moir, for I neither can nor will threap kyndnes upon creaturs. Altho^{t} ye forget me, I hope ye will not forget yourself, nor that caus ye have in hand. Your stay is against my harte ; bot iff that bussines be als weill done without you, and ye als weill excersysed at haim, I am content. I hope ye ar ernist with God, and will do as he

derrects. As for that excercys of humiliatioun, I wold knaw q^t libertie ye hade for your self for that caus, and iff ye gat any hearte to remember me and my bands. As for me, I found nevir so strong impediments without; and within, I wished from my harte als sensibill a shour of grace upon you all as I felt a great drouth. Tho^t I wes as Gedioun's dry fleish, yet iff thair be a dew upon the rest, I sall preas to be content; and blis the Lord, if any hes gottin gud, tho^t I suld want the sence of it for a whyll. It is the Lord with q^m we have ado, who gives and taks, casts doun and rayseth up, kils and revives, as plesis his M[ajesty]; let him have regarde to his awin glory, and to the salvatioun and sanctificatioun of our sauls, and do with me and myne q^t he thinks best.

My task is still augmented and trypled, and yet I feare wors. Sin in me and myne is my greattest cros. I wold, if it wer the Lord's will, chuse aflictioun rather then iniquitie. Lord tak us away in mercy or we be a blot to that professioun!

I desyrit you to tell my Lady Eglintoun that she sall be fred of that las q^n it plesis her; bot I think ye have forgot, at least ye wreit nothing of that to me; bot it touches me neir, and holds me in some feare since ye spak to me: neither can I get rest in that perticular till she be out of that companie. Iff my Lady culd find out either som awfull man, or, if that can be, som gude awfull wyf to tak hir of hir hand, it wold greatly eas my mynd. Iff not, desyre hir to send hir to Jhon Gillon's hous, and I sall bring hir haim, becaus I am bot mending a old hous. I have na will of strangers; q^n I remember q^t Mr David said to you, I think it not meit that she staye longer in that companie. I have a resson wherfor I wold send hir first to Jhon Gillone. I request you do q^t ye can to help me in this, efter ye have comendit it to God. If ye may do na mair, haist this letter to my Lady. If hir L. be not provydit, I knaw of ane, who is neither yong of age nor maners, a gentilwoman weill born, who fears God, and is wys, and discreit, and quick, who I hope will be meit for my Lady. If she neid hir not, I have no moir to say, bot wishes she may get better. I have no tyme; an Monday coms, I think I sall heare from you;

in the mean tyme, I hope ye vill remember me to God, iff he give you a harte. As for wreitting or wisitatioun, let them not hinder better excercyses. Now watche and pray—nevir moir neid, and prais also: great caus. Stryve aganist sluggishnes: bid me do as I say: Lord work that in us q^{lk} he requyrs!—his grace be with you! In haist,

Yours in C.

E. MELUILL.

I wrote tuys from Cummernald. Iff my foolish kyndnes mak you moir unkynd, I sall mend that as I may.

Clos Mr David's letter q^{n} ye have red it, and answer it as it wer wreittin to your self. Crave counsell of God in ernist, and want a hour's sleip for me, for I have somtyme wanted tua for you. Haist thir letters to Mr David. If ye stay, I think ye sall se him your self; if not, send it with the first berar.

I have wreittin at lenth to Mr David, having moir tym then I expected. His letter will inform you moir perticularly of my estait, for I wes in haist q^{n} I wrot to you, and angry also, not without caus. Excuse as ye pleis. Neither will I forgive you, till ye confes your fault and mak a mends. This letter will shew you q^{t} neid I have of help. Be the moir ernist for me, and q^{n} ye may spair a littell panis to wreit, seik it from God, and wreit as he directs: bot ye will not go by your dyet.

Indorsed,

To my werry worthy and louing Brother, Mr Johne Leuingston, Minister of the Gospell.

LETTER II.

"*Commit thy way to the Lord; trust in him, and he sall bring it to pas,*" &c.

MY DEARLY BELOVIT BROTHER IN THE LORD JESUS,[1]

I have na leisur to wreit, only this few lyns, desyring you to be ernist with God in this mater, as I doubt not bot ye ar. Also, I have desyrit others heir to help you as they may, q^lk they ar willing to do as the Lord will assist; and I by his grace sall put in my mytt. Wher the meins ar diligently usit, succes must be referd to him who can do q^t plesis him, and will do the best. I knaw ye will com this way, and give us either ane gudnicht, or welcom haime, as plesis him. Be not sweir to com q^r the Lord conweyis you; nor to speik in his name, who speiks by you. Be humbill and thankfull; a waik creatur and a strong God,—without whos help ye can do nothing. O watche and pray. Bewar to greve that blissed Spreit, and com heir on Monday, so soone as ye may, that ye be not over lait as ye [wer] last. Iff it can not be otherwys, ye knaw who [can] supplye all. Iff any gude wes done, no thanks . . . . . who wes neither abill nor willing, as I can beare you witnes. To him be the gloir to q^m it belongs. Iff God have a work to do with you in this land, he can provyd the meins, and stirre up gude instruments: iff not, his blessed will be done. Only let your cheif cair be to honour and serve him, to submit your will to his, and to prefer his glory to all things; then he sall do aboundantly above all that ye can ask or think. Remember me ernistly —never moir neid. This hart is like a gysnit weshill, all rins out. Lord lay up for me that can not lay up for myself. I am exceiding . . . . . ; Lord send a gracious change. Lord returne to our sauls, and to his awin santuarie, or tak us to him, if it be his will;

[1] This letter is written with a black lead pencil.

for how can we live without our lyf? Let us all cry as we can for that returne. Lord, pour out the spreit of prayer upon us, and let us never forget that q^lk^ we suld cheifly remember. His grace be with you till meiting, and for ever; and his blessed Spreit derrect you in every thing. In haist, without . . . . . .

I think ye sall scairs reid this. I have no moir tyme. The Lord be with you again.

Your loving Sister in Christ,

E. MELUILL.

This is a pruiff of your pen.

Indorsed, also with a black lead pencil, and scarcely legible,
To my werry worthy and louing Brother, Mr Jhon Leuingston, Minister of the Gospell.

LETTER III

MY WERRY WORTHY AND DEIR BROTHER,

My hartt wes amongst you this last Saboth, bot it plesit God to hold me back soir against my will, justly I confes, yet I hope in mercy. I mynd by his grace to com ovir the morn, and to be at that banket, iff it will pleis him to send a calme within and without. Pray for a blissing, I besich you,—nevir sic neid. I hope ye will be thair. I besich you dissapoint me not now, bot mak a mends for the fault ye maid to us all. We looked certanly for you;—we culd nevir heare q^t^ wes your staye. Repent not that ye cam heir, for the Lord maid you a instrument to do gude to som. Blessed be his name who works by waik instruments. God hes begunne to work a happy change in Jhon Graye;—he hes assayed your viii. dayis, and weireis not yet. I hope that [the] Lord sall bring

his awin work to perfectioun. Some othir also hes gottin gude. All gloir to his M., to q^{m} only it belongs. I heare the new covenant wes in hands—there is yet aneuch behind. Ye will com I hope. As for your text, I hope ye will say out that q^{lk} ye left. Com in the name of God, and do as he directs you. He will furnish you according to our neid. I have no tyme. Remember my humbill service to my gude Lady. She did her parte. Lord recompence hir; bot for your part last, we will suspend our jugement till we heare q^{t} ye can say for your self. I mynd, God willing, to steall over quyetly with Jhon Gray and his wyf. The communioun is not far from us heir, but I long to com thair iff he Lord will permit. I know my Lady will act to farther you. The Lord conweye you, or els ye can do nothing. Pray ernistly for a blessing. I heir that my tutor will be thair. Lord be amongst us, and give us all that wher of we stand in greatest neid. His grace be with you till meitting, and for evir. In post-haist,

Your loving Sister in Christ evir,

E. MELUILL.

The 17 of June [1629.]

Indorsed,

To my werry worthy and louing Brother, Mr Jhon Leuingston, Minister of the Gospell.

LETTER IV.

MY WORTHY AND DEIR BROTHER,

I culd not haue thocht y^{t} ye wold haue forgot us so long, y^{t} wold be loth to forget you. To tell you the treu^{t}, it trublit me y^{t} ye neither cum to tak gud nich^{t}, nor yit wold wreit ane excuse, nor

send any word sinsyne. Iff we had bein bound w^t^ natural bands, it wold haue bein great inciuilitie, iff not vnkyndnes; bot I se spirituall bands is not in requeist. I heare y^t^ ye ar com to this countrie thre weeks since, and we haue heard no word from you, q^lk^ I can not beleue. Iff it be so, the first fault is evill mendit. Housoeuer, I must stryue to be content w^t^ the Lord's will; though all soud change, yet he remains unchangeabill, who can, quhen it plesis him, supplye all wants. A long tyme efter ye parted from us, they maid me beleue y^t^ ye wes not away, bot wold stay till winter wes past, q^lk^ maid me degeast all. Bot quhen I heard the contrair, it greuit me moir then before, becaus I had some hope y^t^ iff ye had not bein in sic haist, God wold haue prouydit a place for you in this land; bot your post-haist marred all, and trubled me at the first moir then aneuch. But I haue gottin greatter maters to degeast sinsyne; and yet I will never excuse your fault till ye com to excuse your self.

I confes it is no tyme for me to quarrell nou quhen God is quarrilling us, and hes tane away our deir pastour, who hes preached the Word of God among us almost fourty yeirs, pleinly and powerfully: a soir strok to this congregatioun, and cheifly to me, to quhom he wes not only a pastour and a brother, bot, under God, a husband and a father to my children. Nixt his awin familie, I have the greattest los. Your sudden woyage[1] hes trublit me moir sinsyne then euer, and many of this congregatioun, who wold haue preferred you to others, and wold haue vsit all meins possibill iff ye hade bein in this land; but nou I feare the charme be spilt: yit ye can not go out of my mynd, nor out of the mynd of som others, q^lk^ wishes you heir w^t^ our herts to supplye y^t^ place, and prayis for it, iff it be the Lord's will, tho^t^ by apirance thair is no possibilitie of it, for I think they haue agreit w^t^ another; yet iff God haue a work, he can bring it about, and work contrair to all meins, for thair is nothing to hard for him. Iff ye knew quhat neid we haue, ye wold not rest till ye cam to us. Many longs for

[1] Livingstone went to Ireland in the autumn of the year 1630.

you, cheifly y^t^ sorrowfull widow, whos greiff incressis; also my brother and his wyf, w^t^ Jhon Gray, your awin man, w^t^ his wyf and familie, and many mo. I will not saye my self, becaus ye haue maid me sic a fault, q^lk^ I will neuir forget nor forgiue till ye com and mak a mends. I beseik you haist you to com wesit us, and delay note. Iff any sponk of y^t^ old kyndnes remain, I knaw ye will be als ernist to com as we ar to desyre. It is a work of charitie now q^lk^ ye ow to all Christians, cheifly to us, to quhom ye ar bound, iff loue can bind you to any. Be ernist w^t^ God, and do as he derrects, and pray for us ernistly. Neuir so great neid as nou, —do as we wald do to you. I will say no moir till meitting, q^lk^ I look for shortly. In the mean tym, iff euir ye remembrit me, double your prayers nou, for my task is doublit and tripled. Lord, y^t^ pitteid y^t^ pure pepill under y^t^ crewill bondage, pitty me, and grant a ryt use of all w^t^ help and releif in his tym. The berar is in haist. Lord bring you heir w^t^ a blissing. His grace be w^t^ you till meitting, and for euir. In haist,

Zours euir in C.

The 25 of Marche. E. MELUILL.

Indorsed, 25 *Mart.* 1631.

To my worthy and louing Brother, Mr Jhon Leuingston, Minister of the Gospel,—Thes.

LETTER V.

MY WERRY WORTHY AND DEIR BROTHER,

Ye sall wit that I cam to Airth a littell efter ye went away; and hearing that ye wes in Kinnaird, I posted efter you, bot ye wes gone, and I did q^t^ I culd to follow you, but culd not get hors,

neither a boye to send, till the morning. Since ye cracked tryst from Wednisday till Friday, ye my^t^ have borne with me for a few hours. Ye trysted me to meitt the hors by ten hours; bot iff ye be remembred, I told you that I culd not com so soone, bot ye said they suld staye upon me in Airth, q^lk^ I luiked for; bot I se ye have bein holdin by your dyet, q^lk^ hes dissapointed me. Altho^t^ I hade com, I wold not have tane your hors, and I culd get na other heir; therfor it fell out weill for your hors' sair bak. Remember my humbill service to my Lady: tell her how I am dissapointed, or els I wold have sein hir this nicht. Iff thair be any hors to spair, I desyre two to be sent this Satterday, by viii. or ix. hours: ane for my self, with any woman's sadill, and another for a gentilman who is with me. So hoping ye will do this, I rest, desyring you to pray for a blissing to all our miettings, in publicte and private. His grace be with you till then and evir. In haist,

Yours in C.

Fryday, the 17 of June. E. MELUILL.

I durst not bring ovir hors. I wes in som feare to com my self, becaus the wind wes some q^t^ great, and the tyde against us, bot I tuik the hazard becaus of my promis, and wes in feare that my Ladyis hors suld staye ovir long upon me. I culd not bring a sadill; we wes forced to go moir then a myle on fute, q^lk^ maid me werry weiry; bot your kynd aunt helped me with a hors to Kinaird, bot I culd get nane to com thir.

Indorsed,
To my werry worthy and louing Brother, Mr Jhon Leuingstoun, Minister of the Gospell.

(On the back, probably by Livingstone,)
June 1631.—*Lady Culros.*

LETTER VI.

"*Surely the rage of man sall turne to thy prais; the remnant of their rage wilt thou restrain.*"

MY WERRY WORTHY AND DEIR BROTHER,

I recevit your letter, and hes no tyme to answer you as I wold. I thank the Lord who upholds you in all your tryals and tentatiouns. It is good for you to be holdin in excercys, otherwys I wold susspectt that all wer not weill with you. God is faithfull, as ye find by experience, and will not try you above your strenth. Curage, deir brother, all is in love, all works together for the best. Ye must be hewin and hamerd down, and drest, and prepaired before ye be a LEWING STON fitt for his building.[1] And iff he be myndit to mak you meit to help to repaire the ruins of his hous, ye must look [yet] for other maner of stroks then ye have yet felt. Ye must feill your awin waiknes that ye may be humbled and cast doun befor him, that so ye may pitty pure waik ons that ar borne doun with infirmiteis. And q^{n} ye ar laid low, and wyle [vile] in your awin eyis, then will he rais you up, and refreshe you with som blinks of his faworabill countenance, that ye may be abill to comfort others with these consolatiouns wher with ye have bein comforted by him. This ye knaw by som experience, blissed be God; and as strenth and grace incressis, look for stronger tryals, fechtings without, and fears within, the deuill and his instruments against you, and your Lord hydding his face. Deiply, almost over whelmed with troubles and terrors, and yet out of all this miserie, he is working som gracious work of mercy for the glory of his greate name, the salvatioun and sanctificatioun of your awin saull, and for the comfort of his destrest children thair or heir, or

[1] From the date of this letter, we may infer that Lady Culross here refers to Livingstone's difficulties when he and Mr Blair were deposed. See *Life*, p. 146, 147.

both, as plesis him. Up your harte, then, and prepair for the battell. Put on the wholl armour of God; tho^{t} ye be waik ye have a strong Captain, whos power is maid perfytt in waiknes, and whos grace is sufficient for you. Q^{t} ye want in your self ye have in him, who is geuin to you of God to be your wisdom, richteousnes, sanctificatioun, and redemptioun, your treasur and treasurer, who keips all in stoir. The stock and the anwell [?] is in his awin hand, and he drops doun drop and drop as ye have neid, and q^{n} ye want long, ye sall get doubill profite, and at lenth the haill soum, so that ye sall be riche for evir. Since he hes put his work in your waik hands, looke not for long eas heir; ye most feill the wecht of that worthy calling, and be holdin under with the sens of your awin waiknes, that he may kythe his strenth in dew tyme;—a waik man and a strong God, who will not faill nor forsaik you, bot will furnish strenth, and gifts, and grace, according to that imployment that he puts in your hands. The paine is bot for a moment, the plesur everlasting. The battell is bot short, your Captaine fechts for you, therfor the wictory is certain, and the rewaird glorious. A croun and a kingdome is worth the fechting for; blessed be his name who fechts all our battells and works all our works for us. Since all is in Christ, and he ours, q^{t} wold we have moir but thankfull harts, and grace to honour him in lyf and death who is our advantage in lyf and death, who gyds with his counsell, and will bring us to his glory? To him be all honour, power, and prais, for now and for evir, amen.

Now, I have reft this tyme from my sleip. I have no tyme to shew you my estait. Cross upon cross, the end of ane is bot the begining of another; bot guiltynes in me and myne is my greattest cros. Many tyms lyk to faint and fall doun, bot my Lord puts under his hand, susteins and upholds me with his secret strenth, and oft tyms most neir q^{n} he seims to be farthest of, and somtyms seasons bitternes with som sweitnes. No creatur hes moir caus to complaine q^{n} I look to my self; none so unworthy, so great caus to reiois and be thankfull: for q^{n} I looke to his crossis and comforts, for that q^{lk} he hes done, is doing, and will do, and for the least persuasioun of his unchangeabill love, for taking sic pains to ding me out of

my self, out of all creaturs, and meins under the sunne, and many tyms seims to ding me from himself; bot q^{n} he puts bak by apperance, yet he is drawing forward; q^{n} he strikes with ane hand, he susteins with the other, the greatter miserie I find in myself, the greatter mercy in him, and the greatter mercy the greatter giltynes q^{n} it is abusit. Then q^{n} sin and miserie abounds, thair grace and mercy superabounds: so I am in a laborinth,—how sall I win out? Only this is my comfort, that mercy sall prewaill. Our sins ar finitt, bot his grace infinit: our guiltynes great, bot his gudnes is greatter, and exceids. The rage and malice of our enimie is crewell, yet it is boundit; bot the love of Jesus passeth bounds, is incomprehensible, overcoms all things. And to conclude, our miserie will end shortly, bot his mercy indurs for evir.

Q^{n} I begin, I can not end: it is som comfort to me that theye git liberty to pray for me. My greate tentatioun now is, that I feare my prayers be turned into sin. I find and seis the clein contrair in me and myne, at least som of them. Samuell is going to the colledge in Sant Andrews, to a worthy maister thair, bot I feare him deadly. I dipend not on creaturs: praye ernistly for a blessing. He q^{m} ye knaw is lyk to overturne all, and hes brokin all bands. Lord pity him! Thair wes som begining of order, bot all is wrong again, for the death of his brother maks him to tak liberty, so I have doubill los;[1] and sweit Marie Preston is with God. Sweit wes hir end, bot a sair strok to me. Nane, except hir husband and children, will have moir missing of hir. I have abusit many benefits, and rig^{t} bitter stroks, yet can mak ry^{t} use of nothing. Lord help and work that q^{lk} he requyrs, and tak the glory to himself.

Ye wreit that ye ar lyk to have no setling thair. Iff God have a work ado with you thair, he can change harts,—iff heir, he can and will opin a dure, tho^{t} nevir so fast closit. Ye say my watche is oft wrong, gois somtyme to slow and somtyme to swift. Ye saye ye are oft too slow, but can not be lyk the watche in rinning too swiftly. I feare q^{n} ye went first to Irland that ye did runne to

[1] Her Ladyship here most probably refers to her son James, whose conduct often occasioned great anxiety to his mother.

swiftly, therfor ye ar lyk to be driven bak againe till ye be better temperit; bot God hes a work in all for his glory and your gude, therfor cast your self upon him. He knawis q^{t} is most meit. Wink, and let the Lord work. Submit to his will, and he sall do better then ye can think, and derecte you to do the best, and crown his work with mercy and compassioun. As for your suffering, I know ye hade bitter tentatiouns in it; and yet I dout not bot ye hade answerabill comforts,—sour seasoned with sweit. Be humbilit q^{n} ye luik to your parte, bot be thankfull q^{n} ye looke to the Lord's parte; blis his name for that q^{lk} he hes done to you, and for you, and by you, and preas to walk before him, answerabill in some measur to his fatherly cair, blessed providence, and loving kyndnes, whereof ye have hade so many sweit experiences. O watche and pray that ye fal not in tentatioun. Seik early, and ye sall find better then gold, pearls, and precious stones;—the gold is better wanne early then lait. Iff ye mak a use of winning a penny q^{n} ye suld rest, and sleipe q^{n} ye suld ryse early to your work, the winning of that penny may los you a pound: therfor, sleip in tyme, and awake in tyme, and fall to work in dew season, and ye sall find by experience the treuth of His precious promises. Therfor stryve against sluggishnes, I charge you: it is bot a custome. Work early, and ye sall winn aneuch to mak you riche. Ye knaw the proverb,—*Sanat, dicat, sanctificat.* Try a moneth, as ye said once, and ye sall find som gaine that will stirre you up to seik him early q^{m} your saull wold loue. Suppon that he hes trysted you to meit him, reid the Proverbs, and ye sall find that he calls you instantly and ernistly to seik him early and ye sall find.

Bid me do as I saye. Alas, I feare I have tint the tyde, bot yet I wold mint to it again. Lord, help and draw us with the cords of love, and mak gude that new covenant, and do all things for us q^{n} we can do nothing, and accept our waik indewoirs in the merits of him in q^{m} only he is weill plesit!

Now I have forgot my self. I feare I loss my sleip and the gold also; therfor send me som thing with the first suir berar to recompence the los. Wreit som thing on som gude subiecte; the last

wersis of the 40 of Isaiah, that ye taucht in Culros, or upon the Song of Zacharie, or any thing ye pleis. Seik somq^{t} from Him that hes aboundance. Tak the pen in your hand, and seik a blissing, and sett too, and God will furnish, ye will find. If ye will not, I will wreit no moir to you, q^{lk} will be no small loss. Be not sweir, I beseik you. Now lauch at my shortnes. Help me and myne ernistly with prayer and prayses: nevir sic neid. Forget not our Sattirday of humiliatioun, nor our Saboth of thanksgeving, as the Lord will assist. Commend me hartly to all our deir friends thair; cheifly remember my love to Mr Robert Blair, and to his kynd wyf. If I had tyme, I wold preas to overcom unkyndnes with kyndnes. Remember me hartly to Mr Robert Cuningame, to Mr Josiah Welshe, to Mr George Dunbar, to Mr Edward Bryce, and to all the rest of the pastours, and all their gude wyves, and to all the Lord's conwerts thair,—to pastour and pepill. Blessed be God for that gracious work thair! Lord incres the number, and incres and cherrish his awin grace. Forget [not] Mr Jhon Leuingston [?] with Jhon Simple, and Hew Graime, and all the rest. Pray all for me ernistly: nevir sic neid. Lord pour out the sprite of prayer and prayses, and let us nevir forget that q^{lk} we suld prefer to our particulars. The powerful presence and blessed Sprite of Jesus Christe be with you all, and comfort and incurage you as he knaws your neid. Now, I leave you in his arms.

Yours ever in Christ,

E. MELUILL.

At mid nicht, the 10 of December.

Receve thir blotted lyns, wreittin on your name, in post-haist. Beare with the blots. I have no tym to wreit them over. All your deir aquaintence remembers you, and desyrs ernistly to be rememberit of you. God's blessing be with you again. I am efter a great jurney. I wreit from Helhill, [Halhill.]

Indorsed, 10 *Dec.* 1631.

To my werry worthy and louing Brother, Mr Johne Leuingston, Minister of the Gospell—These.

LETTER VII.

My werry worthy and deir Brother,

I long to heare q^t meitting ye had w^t your sister, and q^t cace she is in, and iff ye cam in dew tyme. I hope the best, and y^t all sall be weill w^t you, and y^t your Saboth's work sall do gude and no hurt to you. Ye can not saye bot the Lord wes w^t you: therfor, not onlie be content, bot blis his m^r who puts his word in your harte and mouth, and hes counted you worthy not onlie to teache y^t treuth, bot also to suffer for his caus, and hes ouercom you w^t mercy when ye deseruit nothing bot wrayth, and hes not only forgiven you many sinnes, bot hes saved you from breaking out as, it may be, better hes done; hes couered, cured, and restraind, &c.; hes loued you frely, and maid his saints to loue you, who hes had a fatherly cair of you from your infancy till nou; who hes watched ouer you by his blessed prouidence; who hes wrocht all your works for you, and preseruit you from dissperat dangers; who will croun his work w^t mercy and kindnes, and will guyde you w^t his counsell, and efter bring you to his glory. Blis his name and be thankfull, as ye ar more then bound. And not onlie praise him w^t harte and mouth, bot preas to honour him by doing and suffering w^t meiknes and patience q^tsoeuir his rycht hand hes apointed, for all works together for the best.

As for your jurney, I know your Lord will derrecte you, and I hope will prouyd gude company, howsoeuir himselfe will convoye you, and stirre up gude instruments to further his caus. Curage, deir brother, and depend upon y^t blissed prouidence. Ye know whos erand ye go, who will not faill nor forsaik you. Ye know whos battels ye fecht, who hes strenth in stoir for you, and none of his sall go to warefare upon their awin charges. He has all harts in his hand, and can change them as plessis him. Remember the promise he hes maid, wherin he hes causit you to trust.

Tak no thocht before hand what ye sall speik, for it sall be gevin you at y^t^ hour, &c.

When I parted w^t^ you, I forgot y^t^ I haue a sone at court w^t^ Sir Robert Ker. Ye must tak pains to delyuer him this letter, and mak aquaintence w^t^ him. Giue him your gude counsell becaus he is my sone. I hope iff he culd be any waye steadeabill, y^t^ he sall be at your seruice. Remember my loue to Mr Robert Blair;[1] desyre him to remember me ernistly, cheifly y^t^ tyme ye knaw, and by the grace of God I sall not forget him, nor you, nor y^t^ caus. Lord giue me sic a harte as he requyrs. I am waiting for Mr Dauid Dick, [Dickson?] bot fears y^t^ he sall dissapoint me; bot I hope the Lord sall not dissapoint me, bot will supplye all wants, as I thank God I haue in som measur found since ye parted from me. I bliss his name he geuis me a harte to remember you and y^t^ caus, and I hope he will not suffer you to forget me nor my perticulars,—ye haue bound your self, and I hope ye will not break. Lord, pour out the sprite of prayer and prayses upon us! Think upon y^t^ tyme of humiliatioun, and tak all the help that ye can get heir and thair q^r^ ye ar going. Who knawis bot the Lord may give a strong blessing to waike means, and mak you and others also to find the fruite of it; and it may be that he pitty me, and give me at least som crums that fals from thair tabill, who maks moir consciens of thes excercyses.

I will not get haim till Thursday; it wexis me that I suld staye a daye behind my lady, bot since I have wreittin to Mr David, I must staye by my dyet, and yet I feare I get neither meat nor answer; bot the Lord is alsufficient, I cast me and myne upon him; Lord have regard to his awin glory, and to the salvatioun and sanctificatioun of our sauls, and do w^t^ us q^t^ plesis him, for his will is our weill. I heare that my lord, my ladyis brother, is going to court. Since I began to wreit, I heard thir newis. I hope he is going to conwoye you. I beseik you slip not that occasioun. The Lord be your guyd and conwoye,

[1] See Life of Livingstone, p. 146, for what may explain this reference, and fix the date of this letter, at least as to the year.

and give you first acces to the King of kings. Iff ye be courteouss with him all will be weill. God Almichty give you favour in the sicht of the man, etc. A happy succes, and a ioyfull returne, q^{n} it plesis him. Hope the best, and feare the worst. Put on your armour and prepair for a storm, and nothing will be lost. Iff it com ye will be the better preparit; if not, ye will be the moir thankfull. Nou remember that the Most Hie dois all for me and you also. Watche and pray, and keip your harte in temper. Wind up the praises diligently, for they will euir be falling doun. Iff ye neglect one daye, it may cost you many dayis pains. God speik to your hart, and conwoy you, and be before you, and work all your works for you, and bring you back with comfort.

Nou I am overcom with sleip: bear with thir confusit blotted lyns, and wreit to me again, and leave it with James Murray. Want a hour's sleip as I do or ye dissapoint me; and q^{n} we ar absent in body let us be present in sprite, and moir ernist with God for our selfs, and one for another, and cheifly for the caus of God. Lord work that q^{lk} he requyrs, and tak the glory to himself, to q^{m} it belongs. Nou many gudnichts is laith awaye. The Sprite of God be with you, and derrect you in all things, and comfort and incurage you as ye have neid. Nou I leave you in the arms of his mercy. God send us gude newis, and a comfortabill meitting q^{n} it pleisis him, and in the mean tyme suplye all wants in

Your louing Sister in C. evir,

E. MELUILL.

Efter midnicht, the 19 of June.

Bring bak ane answer from my sone q^{n} [God] sends you haim to us.

Indorsed,

To my werry worthy and louing Brother, Mr Johne Leuingston, Minister of the Gospell—Thes.

LETTER VIII.

MY WERRY WORTHY AND DEIR BROTHER,

Ye stayit my faird of coming west, yet I purpos to com thair if my lord will giue me leaue. If impediments be cast in nou, ye ar bound to remember me the moir ernistly, and beseik the Lord to supplye y^t^ want; if I com, I hope I sall be welcome to ane, and y^t^ he sall meit me in mercy, and y^t^ gyd my outgoing and incoming as he heis euir done, bleseit be his name. As for comfort in creaturs, I look for littelle: so I hop I sall not be dissapointed y^t^ waye. As for comfort in God, I know he is abill and willing to do aboundantly aboue all y^t^ I can ask or think; bot for the tym, the maner, and measur, I refer to his wisdom, whos will is my weill, and who knowis q^t^ is most meit. If he bring me thair, I hope for a blessing at his hands. If not, he can and will supplie all, and give a morsell out of his awin hand. Pray ernistly for it, if I be holdin bak, and desyre Mr David to do the same. I haue writtin ernistly to Jhon Gillon to com thair, and to bring y^t^ foolish las w^t^ him, if my lady think it best. Aduyse first with God, nixt w^t^ Mr Dauid and the tuttour; and q^t^soeuir the Lord derrects you to do in y^t^ sall be a rewll to me. Remember my seruice to my gude Lady Boyd, if I se hir not at this tyme. As for your *going* or byding, be ernist w^t^ God; cast your self ouer upon him, who will derrect you to do the best; watche and pray: neuir moir neid. Remember your promis, and caus wreit the sermons, if I heare them not: housoeuir I desyre them in wreit with thos in Lanrick, q^lk^ I wes stayit from. The Sprite of God be w^t^ you and derrect you.

Yours in C.

E. MELUILL.

The 19 of September.

In hast as apeirs.

Pray ernistly for me y^{t} the Lord will derect me in all things; spend . . . tyme weill, and ye will not . . . . . .

Indorsed,
To my werry worthy and louing Brother, Mr John
Leuingstone, Minister of the Gospell.

THE

LAST AND HEAVENLY SPEECHES,

AND

GLORIOUS DEPARTURE,

OF

JOHN, VISCOUNT KENMURE.

NOTE.

THE LAST AND HEAVENLY SPEECHES OF JOHN, VISCOUNT KENMURE, are now reprinted from the first edition of the work, a quarto volume, extending to thirty pages, printed at Edinburgh, in 1649, by "Evan Tyler, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty." They have appeared at different times, in various forms, and were long highly popular in Scotland.

There appears no reason to question the truth of the tradition which assigns the volume to Samuel Rutherford as its author. It bears internal evidence of being his; while the Epistle Dedicatory,—"For the whole Nobility of Scotland," is characterized by that unflinching boldness, and rich scriptural illustration, by which Rutherford was signalized even in an age of signal men.[1]

The nobleman whose dying speeches are here given was John Gordon of Lochinvar, who was born in 1599, and raised to the peerage with the title of Viscount Kenmure, in the year 1633. His family had existed for many generations in Galloway, and certain of his ancestors are said to have harboured some of the disciples of Wickliffe, when they visited Scotland to propagate the truth. It is certain, from LIVINGSTONE'S CHARACTERISTICS, and various other sources, that several branches of the family were conspicuous for their godliness, and helped to establish and extend the principles of the Reformation in Scotland.

We have seen, in the LIFE OF WELSH, that young Kenmure was for some time an inmate of his house during his residence in France, and it may be believed, that their intercourse was the means of planting or

[1] Rutherford dedicated some of his treatises to Lord and Lady Kenmure.

of strengthening the truth in his mind. At all events, he strove, for some time after his return to his native country, to promote its welfare in the highest sense.

Lord Kenmure married Lady Jane Campbell, sister to the Marquis of Argyll, beheaded in 1661; but though she was a woman of high-toned piety, and held a prominent place among the Presbyterians of her times, it appears that he did not hold fast his integrity. Ambition took possession of his mind; and while struggling to secure its object, he became less and less interested in the cause and progress of truth. He was connected with the house of Gowrie, and was anxious that its forfeited honours and earldom should be revived in his person. This allured him into paths of defection; and the "Epistle Dedicatory" which follows will exhibit his views on the subject, when he took a retrospect of his life from that spot—a death-bed—where all becomes solemn reality or dismal delusion,—where the pomps and vanities of the world are estimated at their real value, as "less than nothing,"—or where they continue to be prized, because conscience continues seared, till the victim sink into eternity. He confessed at last that "he had deserted the Parliament," where he should have stood firm in resisting the innovations that were made on the freedom and constitution of his country, and the result of that and other measures was "the fearful wrestlings of conscience" confessed in the following SPEECHES. He died on the 12th of September 1634.

FOR THE WHOLE

NOBILITY OF SCOTLAND,

AND OTHERS HAVING VOICE IN PARLIAMENT OR COMMITTEES.

WHEREAS the testimony of a dying nobleman, deeply wounded in spirit, is the surest and most unsuspected argument of the truth, I have thought fit to make known to all the lovers of God, and the work of his right hand, the heavy pangs of conscience and torment of mind, wherewith a nobleman, not long since, was exercised upon his death-bed, for not countenancing the cause of God when he was publickly called thereunto in Parliament; and to discover the fountain of those terrors and griefs, that others may learn by his example, not to displease our dreadful Lord Jesus Christ, either by unsound dealing, or withdrawing themselves from his work: and seeing it was that late nobleman's earnest desire that all should be discovered and laid open to you, Right Honourable, it shall not be impertinent (especially in this condition of time) to acquaint you with this following relation.

John, late Viscount Kenmure, having come to the Parliament holden at Edinburgh June 1633,[1] was present the first day, did stay but some few days thereafter, not having courage to glorify God by his presence, when his cause was in hand, [and] deserted the Parlia-

[1] For an account of it, see Row's Historie, pp. 364–367.

ment under pretence that his body was sick, went home to his own dwelling-house of Kenmure in Galloway, and as Jonas or David, slept securely in his sin about the space of one year, without any check of conscience, till about the beginning of August 1634, his affairs occasioned his return to Edinburgh, where he remained some few days, not knowing that with the ending of his affairs he was to end his life. He returned home with some alterations of bodily health, and from day to day sickened, till the 12th of September next ensuing, which was to him fatal, and the day of his death. But the Lord had other thoughts than that this nobleman should slip out of the world unobserved, and therefore would not have him to die without some sense of his sin: therefore it pleased the Lord to afflict his body with sickness, to shake his soul with fears, to drop in bitterness in his spirit, and make him altogether sensible of the power of eternal wrath for his own good, and the good of others in after ages, who may be warned by his example, never to be wanting to the cause of God when they have any opportunity, and never to wrong their conscience, which is a tender piece, and must not be touched.

So as Nahaz, King of the Ammonites, would make no accommodation with the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead, (1 Sam. xi.) but upon that condition, that first he should thrust out the right eye to every one of them, so Satan makes himself never master of men till first he thrust out the right eye of their understanding. Hence is it that the false hopes of carnal men blind and deceive their minds, many times to their eternal destructions, making them to see things in false glasses, shewing them either the profit, pleasures, or preferment, with the fair flourishes of foolish expectations or deluding promises; but under this bait Satan hides the sting and torment of conscience, not suffering them to see how bitter a thing it is to be any ways wanting to a glorious and dreadfull Lord for any by-respect. This is the way how Satan hath ensnared many mighty, wise, and noble men, making them to nibble at the golden bait, and worship that gold in the coin that they would have abhorred in a molten image, and so catching

the wise in their craftiness; and as the Apostle speaks, (2 Tim. iii. 13,) when they are deceiving, they consider not that they are deceived themselves, and are so blinded that they become confident of the constancy of sublunary things, not so much as thinking how unstable is the foundation of that house, honour, or preferment, that is laid upon the ruins of God's house, wanting illumination to see or hope any thing beyond time or death, which is so strict a porter, that it will not suffer any to come in or go out of this world, but stript and naked.

But now, Right Honourable, when I am to represent to you, how fearfully the spirit of this nobleman was wounded, (whereof the writer hereof was an eye-witness,) I shall not think that any will so construct it, as to have been a fit of madness or melancholy. I know that there be many mockers, who will not believe that there is any such thing as the inexpressible trouble of a troubled spirit, though Job and Jeremiah, David, Hezekiah, and God's eternal word, have given very many expressions to the contrary, as these, "Hath God forgotten to be merciful?" and Solomon, (Prov. xviii. 14,) "But a wounded spirit who can bear?" Some have chattered as cranes and mourned as doves; others casting out fearful cries, as owls in the desert; others screeching as the pelican; and as this nobleman said when his conscience was upon the rack, "My soul hath raged and roared."

I shall further desire you earnestly to consider, that the trouble and tempest of this nobleman's mind was not for voicing against, but only deserting the cause of God, which is scarcely counted a fault in these times. This may teach every man to tremble, rather than to be any ways wanting to the cause of God, but still to stand to it with courage for the truth, the peace of conscience being such an inestimable treasure. So the wound of a wounded spirit is a most inexpressible terror; nor none can describe it but he who hath tasted and tried the same: it impaireth the health, drieth up the blood, wasteth away the marrow, pineth away the flesh, consumeth away the bones, maketh pleasure painful, and shortenеth life: no wisdom can counsel it, no counsel can advise

it, no advice can persuade it, no assuagement can cure it, no eloquence can move it, no power can overcome it, no sceptre can affray it, no enchanter can charm it. Who dareth meet with the wrath of these? O holy Lord of Hosts, who can put to silence the voice of desperation? It breeds such hurly-burlies in the mind of him that laboureth under it, that when it is day he wisheth for night, and when it is night he would have day again: his meat doth not nourish him, his dreams are filled with fears, his sleep forsakes him, all outward comforts are uncomfortable. Then consider that if in this life the torments of the soul be so fearful, how much more terrible shall it be to sustain the torments of hell, where that which is here finite, is there infinite; where that which is here measurable, is there unmeasurable? How great is that ocean of sorrow, whereof this is but a drop; how hot is the flame of that fire, whereof this is less than a spark? What will then avail Balaam's wages, or Naboth's vineyard, or Achan's wedge of gold, or Gehazi's bribe, or the lust broker, Jonadab's, credit with a king's son, or Judas's thirty pieces of silver? What will avail the rich rewards of many treacherous murderous emissaries, or the mighty promises made to many night-plotting birds, who write in obscure characters, who work wisely, and plot in darkness against the holy covenant, and those who are dearest to the Lord, the innocents of the earth, and apple of God's own eye? What will pensions and promotions to high dignities avail them who are lifted up for betraying the cause of God, Church or State, when not only the blood of Jesus Christ, his apostles and disciples, shall be required at their hand, but all the blood from Abel to Zechariah, from Zechariah to Jesus Christ and his disciples, from them to the last martyr that suffered under the ten cruel emperors and all the Popes, from them to the poor Waldenses, from them to the holy martyrs that suffered under Queen Mary of England, and all the martyrs of the massacre of Paris, and all the cruelly roasted martyrs of the Spanish Inquisition, from them to that incomparable murther of the martyrs and holy ones of Ireland? When all that blood, I say, shall be required at their hand, who is able to stand

before thee, O holy Lord of Hosts! when thou shalt once begin to speak a word in thy wrath, and vex wicked men in thy sore displeasure?

Remember, therefore, that conscience is placed in the soul as God's own deputy and God's notary. There is nothing passes in our life, good or evil, which conscience notes not down with an indelible character—conscience writes all men's iniquities as the sin of Judah was written, (Jer. xvii. 1,)—with a pen of iron, and with the point of a diamond. Conscience doth in this our pilgrimage, as travellers upon a journey—it keeps a daily diary of every thing that occurs in the whole course of our life, and then conscience is as a thousand witnesses: it's an eye-witness and a pen-witness, bringing testimony from the authentic registers and records of the court of conscience. Blessed is the man who followeth the injunctions, dictates, prohibitions, and determinations of a good and right informed conscience, and hearkens to all the incitements thereof. Oh that every man would remember how dangerous a thing it is to resist the checks of conscience, for in so doing we fight not only against our own light, but against the light of the Holy Spirit, and grow to such a sottishness and induration in sin, that no admonition is able to forewarn us, neither can any punishment work upon us when once we have suffered ourselves to be hardened by degrees; the smallest means will provoke us, but the greatest cannot revoke us from sin and impiety.

Conscience is of the nature of the eye: the least mote, the least touch, is offensive to it, and yet the learned physicians affirm, that although of all the parts of the body it be the most tender, yet if that web which is called *schirrus oculi* come once upon it, of the most tender and sensible member it becomes the most insensible of all the body. This should instruct all men to fear the Lord greatly, and tremble at his word, to be exact and strict in watchfulness, fervent and frequent in prayer, lest through long custom in sin, the conscience come to a palpable induration, and so, as the Apostle speaks, (Eph. iv. 19,) "Past all feeling."

David (Psal. xxxvii. 37) desires that we should observe, and we

shall find that the upright man shall have peace at last,' which followeth the warfare of this life, and bringeth glory and immortality with unwithering crowns; yet there be many so foolish to get the first peace that they lose the second. Saul would have peace with men, but lost his peace with God himself and his crown. The Jews refused peace with Jesus Christ to have peace with the Romans; and when they had killed Jesus Christ, they lost their peace both with God and the Romans. Look back to former times, and it shall appear that it never went well with them, who, to please men, offended God, or for the faults of men would discord with God. This way of impiety never had, nor shall have, good success; so that there is no delight to the delight of a good conscience: let that bird in the breast be always kept singing.

The many manifest testimonies (besides this dying Lord) that other dying persons, both in this kingdom and England, have given to this present cause, the Covenant and work of Reformation, are not to be passed in silence; for both the servants of God in the ministry, as Mr Alexander Henderson and Mr George Gillespie, and many others of younger years, have to the death encouraged all they left behind them to be constant therein, and have expressed their hope and confidence the Lord should yet build a glorious house for himself in this island, not to speak of the printed testimonies of the man of God and martyr, Mr George Wishart, and that heavenly man in our times, Mr John Welch; and then those who have opposed the cause, or have been misled by evil counsel, as the Lord Boyd, who was shaken with terrors, (as this nobleman,) and others, have expressed much terror of conscience, and their deep sorrow in counterworking the work of the right arm of the Lord—many such have been both in Scotland and England. All this I lay before your eyes, Right Honourable, that as you would be blessed with the blessing of the right hand, and likewise have your houses built upon earth, you would exalt the holy Covenant, which, notwithstanding of all the wisdom, understanding, or counsel that is against it, yet shall it be as oil among the liquors, have no intelligence with them that

forsake it. Be not against it in your hearts; and, as it is said, Dan. xi. 30, have no indignation against the holy Covenant.

It was the last and most earnest desire of this nobleman, Right Honourable, that being warned by his example, ye might not split upon that rock, nor stumble upon that stone, whereupon he had stumbled when he was very weak. These were his words—"Tell them, as they are now, so I have been, and, ere it be long, they will all follow me." Remember, therefore, that God hath set you (noblemen) as stars in the firmament of honour;—upon your influence depends the whole course of the inferior world. The offence of great ones keeps off many: the piety of great ones brings in many. It should make your hearts to tremble when it is said that few are saved; but when salvation is straitened in a more narrow compass, and God's word (1 Cor. i. 26) hath said of noblemen, that few are saved, this should stir up all men, but principally noblemen, to tremble at God's word, and endeavour with heart, and mind, and might, to make their calling and their election sure, (2 Pet. i. 10.) There is nothing so base under the sun's circuit as to see those who are lifted up through civil nobility to be under the power of their lusts. John Chrysostom compares such men to a king taken prisoner, who is forced to serve with his crown upon his head, and his royal apparel upon him. Let, therefore, spiritual nobility be superadded to civil; and then to your coronets you shall add a crown of life, and a crown of glory to your costly garments. Vicious great men are as Uzziah, they carry their leprosy upon their brow: the faults of great men are like eclipses of the sun, most eminent to all the world.

It's not the antiquity of your families, nor the long descent of an ancient pedigree through many noble or princely branches, that can make you noble. True nobility consists in that adoption by which you are made the sons of God, children of the King of kings, and brethren of the eternal Son of God. The titles of this nobility are not written in old rotten or moulded parchments, but are more ancient than the heavens. Labour, therefore, to be the sons of God by regeneration, which is the ornament of blood, and

the first flower of the garland. Fools may be lifted up, and think what they please of civil nobility, but the most royal blood is in the most religious heart.

If, therefore, Right Honourable, you be among men as mountains over valleys, be as those mountains of which Solomon maketh mention, (Cant. iv. 6,)—be mountains of myrrh and hills of frankincense, and not as those mountains of the Prophet, (Osee iv. 13,) which had nothing but incense and idols upon their tops, and so causing the people to err, became their snares and stumbling-blocks. If you be elevated in the world as clifts above the sea, be as watch-towers,—not as misplaced beacons, or lowring rocks. If you be stars, be suns to be chariots of light and life, and not prodigious comets, to pour out malignity upon the four quarters of the world. And rest assured, that how much more you are with God, and united to his Majesty, so much the greater shall you be. The more conformable you are to the Lord of Glory, so much the more shall you behold the earth in contempt under your feet, and heaven in crowns over your heads.

THE

LAST AND HEAVENLY SPEECHES,

AND

GLORIOUS DEPARTURE,

OF

JOHN, VISCOUNT KENMURE.

UPON the last of August 1634, which was the Sabbath of the Lord, when this nobleman's body was much weakened, he was visited with a religious and learned pastor, who then lived in Galloway, not far distant from my Lord Kenmure's house. He rejoiced at the coming of this pastor to his house, and observed and spake of a directing and all-ruling Providence, who had sent to him such a man, who had been abroad from Galloway for other occasions, and had returned sooner than his own expectation was, or his business could permit. After supper, about eleven hours at night, my Lord drew on a conference with the said pastor, saying, "I am heavily weighted and affrighted in soul with two great burdens: The one is fear of death, the other, extreme and vehement bodily pain but the former is heavier than the latter, for I never dreamed that death had such a sour and austere gloom,

and such a terrible and grim-like countenance. I dare not die, howbeit I know I must die. What shall I do? for I dare not venture in grips with death, because I find my sins so grievous and so many, that I fear my accompts be ragged and out of order, and not so as becometh a dying man."

The pastor answered, "My Lord, there is a piece of nature in all men, (the believers not excepted,) whereby to them the first look upon death is terrible and fearful; but, my Lord, believe in him who died for you, and look the second and third time upon death's face; and if you be in Christ, you shall see Jesus hath put a white mask upon death; and I dare say, if this be the time of your dissolution, I trust in God you shall both change your mind and words; for if you have a good second in the combat, (such as is only Christ,) your Lord will possibly let your conscience wrestle with the fears of death; yet he is beholding fair play, and I hope Christ Jesus shall not be a naked beholder, and say, 'Deal it betwixt you,' as he doth in the death of reprobates, but shall lend you help, for borrowed strength is all your strength here; yea, I hope Jesus Christ shall give death the redding stroke. But, my Lord, I fear more the ground of your fear of death, which is (as you say) the conscience of your sins: for there can be no plea betwixt you and your Lord if your sins be taken away in Christ, for then death loseth its action of law against you, you being in Christ, and therefore make that sure work and fear not."

My Lord answered, "I have been too late in coming to God, and have deferred the time of my making my accompts so long, that I fear that I have but the foolish virgins' part of it, who came and knocked at the door of the bridegroom too late, and so got never in."

The pastor said, "My Lord, I have gathered by experiences, and observed in sundry, especially in your father, that when they were plunged over head and ears in the world, and had cast down old barns, and built up new again, God came in a month's space and less, and plucked them from their deceiving hopes, before they got half a bellyful, yea, or a lucky mouthful of the world; and this, my Lord, looketh like your case, for you know how deep yourself

hath been in the world, in building, planting, parking, seeking honours, and now belike your summons are to a short day."

My Lord answered, "It's true I have been busy that way, but my intentions were honest, and only to free myself of burdens and business."

The pastor not being content with such a naked answer in such a weighty proposition, drew the conference about again to his fear of death, and to a reckoning with his Lord; and said, "My Lord, you know that it is one of the weightiest businesses that ever you put your hand to, (to die,) especially seeing judgment is at death's back: faults in your life are mendable by repentance, but one wrong footstep in death is conjoined with eternal loss; for there is neither time nor place to regret of evil and bad dying; therefore I entreat you, my Lord, by the mercies of God, by your appearance before Christ your Judge, and by the salvation of your soul, that you would here look ere you leap, and venture not into eternity without a testificate under Jesus Christ's hand, because it is the curse of the hypocrite, (Job xx. 11,) 'He lieth down in the grave, and his bones full of the sins of his youth.'"

My Lord replied, "When I begin to look upon my life, I think all is wrong in it, and the lateness of my reckoning affrighteth me; therefore stay with me, and shew me the marks of a child of God: for you must be my second in this combat, and wait upon me." His Lady answered, "My heart, you must have Jesus Christ to be your second;" unto the which he said heartily, "Amen."

Then said my Lord, "But how shall I know that I am in the state of grace? for while [until] I be resolved, my fears will still overburden me."

The pastor said, "My Lord, hardly or never doth a cast-away anxiously and carefully ask the question, whether he be the child of God or not?"

Then my Lord, out of desire to be persuaded of his salvation, excepted against that mark, and said, "I do not think that there is any reprobate in hell but he would with all his heart have the kingdom of heaven."

The pastor having differenced to him what sort of desires of salvation falleth in reprobates, my Lord said, "You never did see in me any tokens of true grace, and that is my great and only fear."

The pastor said, "My Lord, I was sorry to see you carried so fearfully away with temptations, and you know whether by word or writ I did give you warning that it would come to this that you see this night. I would wish your soul were deeply humbled for sin; but to your demand, I say, I thought you had ever a love to the saints, and even to the poorest and silliest who carried Christ's image, howbeit they could never serve nor pleasure you in any way; and John saith, (1 John iii. 14,) 'By this we know we are translated from death to life, because we love the brethren;'" with that mark he was, after some objections, convinced.

The pastor asked him, "My Lord, dare you now quit your part of Christ, and subscribe an absolute resignation of Jesus Christ?"

My Lord said, "O Sir, that is too hard: I hope He and I have more to do together than so: I will be advised ere I do that."

Then my Lord asked, "What mark is it to have judgment to discern a minister called and sent of God, and an hireling?" The pastor allowed it as a good mark also, and cited to him John x. 4, "My sheep know my voice."

At the second conference, the pastor urged a necessity of a deep humiliation, and said, "My Lord, you know Christ must have sick souls to work upon, and not the whole." My Lord said, "God knoweth but that is a needful 'must.' Oh if I could get him! but sin causeth me to be jealous of his love to such a man as I have been."

The pastor said, "Be jealous of yourself, my Lord, but not of Jesus Christ; and know that there is no meeting betwixt Christ and you, except ye 'be weary and laden;' for his commission from the Father (Isa. lxi. 1, 2, 3) is only to the 'broken-hearted, to the captives, to the prisoners, and to the mourners in Zion.'"

Whereupon my Lord said, with a deep sigh and with tears, "God send me that:" and thereafter reckoned out a number of sins, which, said he, are as serpents and crocodiles before my eyes. There-

after my Lord said, "But this hath been a sudden warning that God hath given me. What shall I do? I am afraid to die; and I can neither win through death nor about it."

The pastor said, "My Lord, death and you are strangers; you have not made your acquaintance yet with death. I hope you will tell another tale of death ere all the play be ended; and you shall think death a sweet messenger, who is coming to fetch you up to your Father's house."

Upon this he said with tears, "God make it so:" and desired the pastor to pray.

At the third conference, my Lord said, "Death bindeth me strait. O how sweet a thing it is to seek God in health, and in time of prosperity to make our accompts! for now, through bodily pain, I am so distempered that I cannot get my heart framed to think upon my accompts and the life to come."

The pastor said, "My Lord, it's a part of your battle to fight against sickness and pain, no less than against sin and death, seeing sickness is a temptation."

My Lord said, "I have taken the play very long; God hath given me five and thirty years to repent, (and, alas! I have mispent it,) and now I see an ugly sight:" then he covered his face with a linen cloth, and burst into tears and wept sore.

The pastor said, "My Lord, they be far behind who may not follow: think not your time so late. Christ's door is yet half open; you have time to throng in, and your time is not all spent as yet: it's, I grant, far after noon, and the back of the day is now, yea, the edge of your evening; but run fast that ye lie not in the fields, and miss your lodging."

Upon that my Lord said, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, "Lord, how can I run? 'Lord draw me, and I shall run,'" (Cant. i.) The pastor hearing that, desired him to pray, but he answered nothing; but within one hour after he called for the pastor, and in the hearing of his Lady and him, he prayed divinely and graciously with tears. The contents of his prayer were a bemoaning to God of his weak estate, both inward and outward; for, said he, "Lord,

I am oppressed with pain without, sorrow and fear within. I dare not knock at thy door: I lie at it but scraping as I may, till thou come out and take me in. I dare not speak: I look up to thee, and wait on for a smack and kiss of Christ's fair face. O! when wilt thou come?"

At the fourth conference, he calling for the pastor, said, "I charge you go to a secret place to God, and pray for me, and take help of others with you, and do it not for the fashion. I know prayer will pull Christ out of heaven."

The pastor said, "My Lord, what shall we seek from God to you? give us a commission from your own mouth."

My Lord answered, "I charge you to tell my beloved that I am sick of love."

The pastor said, "Shall we seek life and recovery to you?" He answered, "Yea, if it be God's good pleasure; for I find my fear of death now less, and I think God is loosing the roots of this deep grown tree of my soul so strongly fastened to this life."

The pastor said, "My Lord, you must swear a covenant to God, that if he restore you to this life again, you shall renew your obedience to God, and that Jesus Christ shall be dearer to your soul than your honours, pleasures, credit, place, baronies, and lands, and all that you have." He said, ere the pastor had ended, "I trow so, and all too little for him; and, by God's grace, I bind myself, under the pain of everlasting wrath, to bide by that covenant if the Lord should restore me."

The pastor said, "My Lord, our hearts are deceitful above all things. See that you be honest and stedfast to Jesus Christ in your covenant." Then he read to him the 78th Psalm, 36 verse, of a false covenant that men often make under heavy troubles; and verse 34, "When he slew them, then they sought him, and they returned, and enquired early after God;" and ver. 35, "And they remembered that God was their rock, and the high God their Redeemer;" and ver. 36, "Nevertheless they did flatter him with their mouth, and they lied unto him with their tongues;" and ver. 37, "For their heart was not right with him, neither were they stedfast in

his covenant." My Lord, when he heard this read, said, "In despite of the devil, that's not my covenant." My Lord took the Bible, and said "Mark other Scriptures for me to read:" and he marked to him the 2 Cor. v.; Rev. xxi.; Rev. xxii.; Isa. xxxviii.; Psal. xxxviii.; John xiv. These places he turned over, and cried frequently, "Lord, for one of thy love-blinks! O, Son of God, one sight of thy face!"

The pastor said, "My Lord, your prayers and your tears are come up before God, and Christ hath obtained a pardon for you." My Lord took the pastor by the hand, and drew him to him, and said with a sigh and tears, "Good news indeed." Thereafter he called the pastor, and convened such as went with him to pray for him, and said, "Have you gotten any heavenly liberty and access to God in Christ for my soul?" They said they had; and he rejoiced, and said, "Then I will believe and wait on. I cannot think but my beloved is coming leaping over the mountains and skipping over the hills." When any friends or others came to visit him whom he knew to fear God, he said at the first, "Go try your power with God for me: go and pray." He sent two of them, at their first coming to him, to the wood of the Kenmure, expressly to pray for him. After some cool of a fever, (as was thought,) he said to a gentlewoman, who was a good Christian, who, at his own desire, attended him continually, "Marion, I desire one word of the pastor," who being called, came, to whom he said smiling, "Joy now, for he is come. O! if I had a tongue to tell the world what Jesus Christ hath done to my soul!"

But after this, my Lord conceiving hope of recovery, became exceeding careless, remiss, and dead, and seldom called for the pastor. For the space of two days he continued so, hoping to recover, howbeit upon no terms would he permit the pastor to go home to his kirk and flock till the Lord's day was passed. This coldness gave occasion of heaviness to my Lady, and the pastor, and other his friends and lovers, seeing his care for his soul so exceedingly slacked: this made the pastor go to the physician, and ask his judgment for his life, who answered plainly

that there was nothing for him but death, which would be certain if his flux returned, which in effect did return. This made the pastor go in to him, and say, "My Lord, I have a necessary business to impart unto you;" and he said, "Say on."

"My Lord, you are not aware of a deep and fearful temptation of the devil, by the which your soul is dangerously ensnared: you have conceived hope to return back again to this life, but I tell you, my Lord, ere it be long, you shall be presented before the Judge of quick and dead, to receive doom and sentence according to your works. I have warrant for me to say this; therefore, I beseech you, my Lord, as you tender your own soul's salvation, be not deceived. Ere it be long, time will be no more with you: eternity is drawing on: your glass is shorter than you are aware of; Satan would be glad to steal your soul out of this life sleeping."

The physician likewise seconded these speeches, and faithfully gave him warning of the danger of his disease, and told him, for the salvation of his soul, it was his wisdom to be prepared; and told him plainly, that he thought his time should not be long. After these words, he took the pastor by the hand, and said that he "found faithful and plain dealing. This man and I will not sunder till death sunder us. Now I will set aside all things. I know one thing is needful: it was but the folly of my deceiving heart to look back over my shoulder to this life when I was fairly on once in my journey towards heaven;" and, therefore, he caused all men to go out of the chamber save only the pastor, and caused him close the doors and confer with him anent the state of his soul.

The pastor, after prayer, said, "My Lord, I perceive I have been deceived and your Lordship also, for your joy I fear hath not been well rooted, neither your humiliation so deep as need were. We must dig deeper again, and seek a lower foundation; for when I bethink me of your coldness in devotion, and your untimeous relenting in the necessary work of making your reckoning with your Judge, upon vain conceived hope of recovery of health, I see certainly the work is not sure: one pin is loose. Your Lordship knoweth this church and country have been grievously offended

at many gross and open sins in you, both against the first and second table of the Law:" and upon this the pastor burthened him with sundry particulars, and told him plainly, and said, "My Lord, my mistake of the case of your soul hath been from hence, that you have never cleared yourself of many predominants and bosom sins, whereof I both spake and writ to you; and you may remember how malcontent you were at a sharp letter of many particulars that I writ to your Lordship, and how at your house of Rusco you made half a challenge of it to me; for I found you always witty to shift and cover any thing whereof you were rebuked. Howbeit, at my first coming to this country, when you sided too much with a gentleman of your name who killed a man vilely, you promised willingly to receive and take in good part what I freely told your Lordship was amiss."

Whereupon my Lord reckoned out a number of fearful sins, which, because Jesus Christ hath covered, the pastor will never discover; but amongst all, he ingenuously and freely confessed his sin in deserting the last Parliament, and said, "God knoweth I did it with the fearful wrestlings of my conscience, my light paying me home within, when I seemed to be glad and joyful before men; yet I did [it] for fear of incurring the indignation of my prince, and the loss of farther honour, which I certainly expected; but woe, woe be to honours, or any thing else, bought with the loss of peace of conscience and God's favour!"

The pastor being struck with fear and astonishment at the reckoning of those fearful sins, which my Lord had kept close, notwithstanding of such fair appearance of a sound mark of grace in his soul as he had conceived, did then stand up and read unto him the first eight verses of the sixth to the Hebrews, and discoursed to him of the far on-going of reprobates in the way of heaven, and of their taste of the good Word of God, and of the virtues of the life to come, and yet are but reprobates; and cited also Rev. xxi., "But the fearful, and unbelievers, and the abominable, and murtherers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake that burneth

with fire and brimstone: which is the second death;" and told him what everlasting burning was. And with that the pastor turned his back upon him, and said, "Now, my Lord, I have not one word of mercy from my LORD to say to you. God hath sealed up my lips that I dare speak nothing to you but one thing, The wrath and ire of God Almighty."

My Lord hearing this with tears, cried out so, that they heard him in the withdrawing room, and in all the houses about. Then he said, "God armed in wrath is coming against me to beat out my brains; I would die, I would not die; I dare not live. O what a burden is the hand of an angry God! Oh! what shall I do? Is there no hope of mercy?" Thus in a fearful agony he lay a long time weeping, so that those who attended brake in, and said, "The pastor had no skill, he would kill him;" and others said, "I pray you beware, you will not fail to thrust him in despair." The pastor, not content with those speeches, did bear with them, and went to a quiet part, and sought from God his salvation, and words from God to speak to this patient; and some said that the pastor was a miserable comforter.

After this, another pastor came to visit my Lord, to whom my Lord said, "He hath slain me;" and before the pastor could speak for himself, my Lord said, "Not he hath slain me, but the Spirit of God in him." The pastor said, "Not I, but the Law hath slain you; and my Lord, I say yet again, the God of heaven hath a terrible process against your father's house, and a deep and a bloody controversy with the stones and the timber of the house of Kenmure; and my Lord, your name is in the process, see how you can free yourself: God is not mocked."

The other brother read to him the history of Manasseh's most wicked life, and how the Lord was entreated of him, and gave him mercy; but the former pastor went still upon wrath, and asked of him, saying, "My Lord, you are extremely pained, I know now, both in body and mind: what think you of the lake of fire and brimstone, of everlasting burnings, and of utter darkness, with the devil and his angels?"

My Lord said, "Woe is me! what can I think of it? I think if I should suffer my thoughts to dwell upon it any space, it were enough to cause me go out of my wits; but I pray you, man, what shall my soul do?" The pastor answered, "My Lord, I am where I was. God knoweth I dissemble not, I have not one word of mercy to speak to you; only I know Christ hath not given out the doom against you, the sentence is yet suspended: therefore mourn and sorrow for the offending of your God."

The pastor said, "What, my Lord, if Christ had given out a sentence of condemnation, and come to your bed-side and told you of it, would you not still love him, and trust in him, and hang upon him?"

My Lord said, "God knoweth I durst not challenge him; yea, howbeit he should not love me, yet I will still love him; yea, though the Lord should slay me, yet I will trust in him, I will lie down at God's feet; let him trample upon me: I will die if I die at Christ's feet."

The pastor finding my Lord claiming kindness to Christ, and hearing him cry often, "O Son of God! where art thou, when wilt thou come to me? Oh for a love look!" Then the pastor said, "Is it possible, my Lord, that you can love and long for Christ, and he not love and long for you, or can love and kindness stand only upon your side? Is your poor feckless unworthy love greater than infinite love? seeing he hath said, (Isa. xlix. 15,) 'Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee.' Verse 16, 'Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands;' and therefore your loving and longing for Christ is a fire of God's kindling; my Lord, persuade yourself, you are graven on the palms of God's hands."

Upon this, my Lord, with a hearty smile, looked about to a gentleman, a good Christian, whom he had commanded to attend his body till his dying hour. "Man, (saith my Lord,) I am written upon the palms of Christ's hands, he will not forget me; is not this brave talking?" The pastor, finding him weaker, said, "My

Lord, the marriage-day is drawing near; make ready the marriage-robes; set aside all care of your estate and the world, and give yourself to meditation, prayer, and spiritual conference."

He was observed after that to be always upon that exercise; and when none was near him he was overheard praying, and many times when to our sense he was sound sleeping, he was at prayer. After a sleep he called for the pastor, and said, "I have been troubled in my sleep with this, that being at peace with God, I am not also at peace with men, and therefore send for such a kinsman, (with whom I am not reconciled,) as also for a minister that had before offended me, that I may friend with them;" which was done quickly.

When the preacher came, he said, "I have ground of offence against you as a natural man, and now I do to you what all men breathing could not have moved me to do; but now, because the Holy Spirit commands me, I must obey, and therefore I freely forgive you, as I would wish you to forgive me. You are in an eminent place; walk before God, and be faithful in your calling, and take heed to your steps: walk in the right road, hold your eye right; for all the world, decline not from holiness, and take example by me."

To his cousin he said, "Serve the Lord, and follow not the footsteps of your father-in-law, (he had married the Bishop of Galloway's daughter.) Learn to know that you have a soul; for I say to you, the thousandth part of the world knoweth not they have a soul: the world liveth without any sense of God."

He willed the pastor to sleep in a bed made upon the ground beside himself within the chamber, and urged him against his will to lie down and sleep, and said, "You and I have a far journey to go, make you [ready] for it." Some four nights before his death he would drink a cup of wine to the pastor, who answered, "I receive it, my Lord, in hope you shall drink of the pure river of water of life proceeding from the throne of God and of the Lamb;" and when the cup was in his hand, with a smiling coun-

tenance he said, "I think I have good cause to drink with a good will to you."

After some heaviness, the pastor said, "My Lord, I come with news to you." He answered, "What be they?" The pastor answered, "Be not afraid of death and judgment, because the process that your Judge had against you is cancelled and rent in pieces, and Jesus Christ hath trampled it under his feet: your dittay [indictment] is burnt." My Lord said very pithily, with a smile, "O that is a lucky tale: I will then believe and rejoice: for sure I am that Jesus Christ and I once met, and will he not come again?" The pastor said, "My Lord, you have gotten the first-fruits of the Spirit, the earnest, and Christ will not lose his earnest: therefore the bargain betwixt Christ and your soul holdeth."

He asked the pastor, "What is Christ like that I may know him?" The pastor answered, "He is like love, and altogether lovely, (Cant. v. 6.) Love cannot but be known wheresoever it is."

The pastor said, "My Lord, if you had the man Christ in your arms very now, would you not thrust him to your heart, howbeit your breasts and side be pained with a stitch?" He answered, "God knoweth, I would forget my pain, and thrust him into my heart; yea, if I had my heart in the palm of my hand, I would give it him, and think it too unworthy a gift for him."

He complained of Jesus Christ's going and coming. "I find," said he, "my soul drowned with heaviness. When the Lord cometh he stayeth not long."

The pastor said, "Woers dwell not together, but married folks take up house together and sunder not. Jesus Christ is now wooing, and, therefore, he feedeth his own with hunger, which is as growing meat, as the sense of his presence."

He said often, "Son of God, when wilt thou come? God is not as man that he should change, or as the son of man that he should repent. Those that come to Christ he casteth not away, but raiseth them up at the last day."

Still, after peace and full assurance of reconciliation, he cast back his eyes to his sins and mourned.

The pastor discoursed to him of the new Jerusalem, and the glory of our Father's house up above; and said, "What will you think, my Lord, when Christ shall dry your watery eyes, and wipe all tears from your face, and lay your head upon his breast, and embrace you in his arms, and kiss you with the kisses of his mouth?"

He said, "I want words to say what I think, but I know heaven is above the commendation of all earthly men, howbeit they had the tongues of angels."

He was heard to say in his sleep, "My well-beloved is mine, and I am his." Being asked if he had been sleeping, he said he was asleep, but he remembered he was giving a claim to Christ in his sleep.

Another time, after sleep, he wakened with exceeding great joy not long before his death, saying, "I have felt an extreme sweetness, which did arise from the lower parts of my body, and come up to my heart as sweet perfume, and so filled it that I was not able to contain the same, but as a precious perfume it diffused itself through the whole rooms about me with a most delicate and odoriferous smell."

The doctor of physic desired him to say over the words again, which he did, and said he felt joy unspeakable and glorious.

After a sound sleep in the dawning, the pastor said, "My Lord, where lay Christ all night? Did not your well-beloved lie as a bundle of myrrh betwixt your breasts?" He answered, "Nay, not betwixt my breasts, but within my breasts, locked in my heart."

He asked, "When will my heart be loosed, and my tongue untied, that I may express the sweetness of the Law of God to my own soul?" And before the pastor answered anything, he answered himself, "Even when the wind bloweth."

Being asked by the pastor if ever he had benefited by the word of God in public, which he had heard preached these many years, he answered, "I never came to your communion but I was filled

with the sense of God, and Christ was powerfully borne in upon my soul, that do my best I was not able to hold him out, but in would he be, whether I would or not; but oh, oh! my woeful outbreakings, for the saints[1] I was inclined to. The devil and temptations took me at such a nick as I could not win by unhurt; but, oh! strong, strong Jesus. O the deep of his love that would not want me!"

Being asked what was his judgment anent the ceremonies now entered in the kirk of God, he answered, "I think, and am persuaded in my conscience, they are superstitious, idolatrous, and antichristian, and come from hell; and I repute it a mercy that my eyes shall not see the desolation that shall come upon this poor church. It's plain Popery that's coming among you. God help you; God forgive the nobility; for they are either key-cold, or ready to welcome Popery, whereas they should resist; and woe be to a dead, time-serving, and profane ministry: they are but a company of dumb dogs."

He called his Lady, and a gentleman who was a friend to his Lady, and had come from the East country a good way to visit him with the pastor: [he] caused shut the chamber-door upon all others, and from his bed directed his speech to the gentleman, saying, "I ever did find you kind and honest to me all the time of my life, therefore I must now give you a charge which you shall deliver to all the noblemen you know, and with whom you are acquainted. Go through them, and tell them all how heavy I have found the weight of the Lord's hand upon me for not giving testimony for the Lord my God when I had occasion once in my life at the last Parliament. For this foul fault how fierce have I felt the wrath of the Lord my God! My soul hath raged and roared. I have been ript up to the heart. Tell them that they will be as I am now. Encourage others that stood for the Lord. Tell them that failed, that as ever they would wish to have mercy when they are as I am now, they should repent, and crave mercy

[1] Printed thus in former editions. Should it be *sins*?

from God. Would to God I had such an occasion again to testify my love to the Lord! For all the earth should I not do as I have done, tell them."

To a gentleman, a kinsman of his, he said, "I love your soul, and I love your body; you are a blessed man if you understand it, because ye may have the blessed means of the word preached beside you; and seeing you are but a tender man of body, I would not have you to drown yourself so much with trysting and fasheries of this world (as I did:) who knows but you may be the first man may follow me. My greatest grief is, that I had not the occasion of good means as you have; and if you yourself make not the right use of the occasion of your means, one day they shall be a witness against you. Alas! take example by me; I was a fool, and lifted up with folly; and now, when I was at the very top, I was taken by the Lord when I expected least. The Lord hath smitten me; therefore take example by me, and leave the world and the fasheries of friends timeously, tender your soul, and tender your worn body. If I were to live in the world again, I should not vex and fash myself so much as I did, but should dwell at the Rusco the most part of my life, that I might have the happiness of the exercise of hearing God's word preached as you have; good cousin,[1] use the counsel of your pastor."

To a lord, that was his brother-in-law—"Mock not at my counsel, my Lord. In case you follow the course you are in, you shall never see the face of Jesus Christ; you are deceived with the merchandise of the whore that makes the world drunk out of the cup of her fornications; your soul is builded upon a sandy foundation. When you come to my estate, you will find no comfort in your religion; you know not what wrestlings I have had before I came to this estate of comfort. The kingdom of heaven is not gotten with a skip or leap, but with much seeking, thrumbling, and thrusting." My Lord Herries not liking this discourse, did press to break it off by these words, saying, "My Lord, I thank you kindly,

[1] Supposed to be John Gordon of Cardoness.

I am content to see your Lordship so resolved; if I had known of your Lordship's sickness, I had seen you sooner." My Lord Kenmure answered, "I pray God give you grace to make good use of your coming: seeing you are now come, contemn not good counsel, for I have interest in your Lordship, and love your soul, and I must exoner myself as I will be answerable to God."

To a lady, that was his own sister[1]—"Who knows, sister, if the words of a dying brother may prevail with a living sister. Alas! you incline to a rotten religion. Fie, cast away these rotten dregs; they will not avail you when you are brought to this case as I am. The half of the world is ignorant and goeth to hell, and knoweth not that they have a soul; it's a wonder to see any to know that they have a soul: read the Scriptures, they are plain Scottish language to all who desire wisdom from God, and to be led to heaven."

To a gentleman, his neighbour—"Your soul is in a dangerous case, but you see it not; and as long as you are in the case you are in you will never see it. I pray you, as you love the salvation of your soul, leave these courses; you must seek out another way to heaven than you are in, else look to land at hell. There are small means of instruction to be had, because the most part of the ministry are profane and ignorant. Search God's Word for the good old way, and search and find all your own ways."

To a gentleman, his cousin, he said, "You are a young man, and know not well what you are doing; seek God's direction for wisdom in your affairs, and you shall prosper; and learn to know you have need of God to be your friend."

To another cousin—"David, you are an aged man, and you know not well what an accompt you have to make; and if you were in the case I am in, you would count more of your accompts than you do. I know you better than you believe, for you worship God according to man's devices; you believe lies of God; your soul is in a fearful case; and until you know the truth, you shall never see your own way aright."

[1] Lady Herries.

To a young man, his neighbour—"Because you are but a young man, beware of temptations and snares; and above all, be careful to keep yourself in the use of means; resort to good company; and howbeit you be nicknamed a Puritan, and mocked, yet care not for that, but rejoice and be glad, that they who are scorned and scoffed by this godless and vain world, and nicknamed Puritans, would admit you to their society; for I must tell you, when I am at this point as you see me, I get no comfort to my soul by any second means under heaven but from those who are nicknamed Puritans. They are the men that can give a word of comfort to a wearied soul in due season, and that I have found by experience since I did lie down here."

To one of his natural sisters—"My dove, thou art young, and, alas, ignorant of God! I know thy breeding and thy upbringing well enough; seek the Spirit of regeneration. Oh! if thou knew it, and felt the power of that Spirit as I do now; think not all is gone because your brother is dead; trust in God, and your Father liveth, and beware of the follies of youth; give yourself to reading and praying, and careful hearing of God's word: and take heed whom you hear, and how you hear. God be with you."

To another pastor—"Mr James,[1] it's not holiness enough to be a minister, for you ministers have your own faults, and those more heinous than others. I pray you be more painful in your calling, and take good heed to the flock of God; and know that every soul that perisheth by your negligence shall be counted to you soul-murtherers before God; think not but such a man as I may at this time give a wise man counsel. Take heed in these dangerous days how you lead the people of God, and take heed to your ministry."

To his chaplain, who then was Mr George Gillespie—"You have carried yourself discreetly to me, so that I cannot blame you. I hope you shall prove an honest man. If I have been at any times

[1] Understood to be Mr James Irving of Parton, who appears to have been one of the time-serving men then so common, who were Prelatist or Presbyterian, as occasion required.

harsh to you, forgive me. I would I had taken better heed to many of your words; I might have gotten good by the means that God gave me, but I made no use of them. Now I see it was God sent this pastor unto me, because he resolved to stay longer at Irvine. The Lord hath now let me see my ways; my soul hath been troubled for them, but my God hath given me comfort, and hath begun to loose my tongue. God be thanked for that which I have gotten. I look for more; great is the work of mercy that is shewn to me; now the love of God is made known to my soul, and I am grieved for my ingratitude against my loving Lord, and that I should have sinned against him who came down from the heaven to the earth for my cause, to die for my sins. The sense of this love, borne in upon my heart, hath a reflex, making me love my Saviour, and grip to him back again. The sparks and flaughens of this love shall fly up and down this bed so long as I lie into it."

To another kinsman he said, "Learn to use your precious time well. Oh, alas! the ministry in this country is dead. God help you. Ye are not right led. Ye had need to be busy among yourselves; and the knowledge God hath given you, use it and practise it. Men are as careless in the practice of godliness as if godliness were nothing but fashious words, sighs, and shows: but all these will not do the turn. O! but I find it now hard to take heaven by violence, and to thrust in at."

To two gentlemen neighbours—"It is not rising soon in the morning, and running out to the park and stone dyke, that will bring peace to the conscience when it comes to this part of the play. You know not how I have been beguiled with the world. I would counsel you to seek that one thing that is necessary, even the salvation of your soul. Be continually casting your accounts. Let not your reckonings be behind as mine was, but count with your own souls every day and every night."

To a cousin, bailie of Ayr—"Robert, I know you have light and understanding; and though you have no need to be instructed by me, yet have you need to be incited. Care not over much for

the world, but make use of the good occasions and means you have in your country; for here is a pack of dumb dogs that cannot bark: they tell over a clash of terror and a clatter of comfort without any sense or life."

To a young cousin, and another young gentleman that was his friend—"Sirs, ye are young men, and [think] ye have far to go—and it may be some of you have not far to go; and if it fall out that your journey be short, howsoever it is dangerous, now are you happy because you have time to lay your accounts with Jesus Christ. See, therefore, that your reckoning be made daily, lest you be taken (as I am) to make your accounts, and to have all your senses to seek about you; suffer not, therefore, this example that you see of me to slip unobserved, but make your best use of it. I entreat you to give your youth to Jesus Christ, for it is the most precious offer and acceptable gift you can give him. Give not your youth to the devil and your lusts, and then reserve nothing to Jesus Christ but your old rotten bones. It is to be feared that then he will not accept you. Learn, therefore, to watch and take example by me."

He called Bishop Lamb, who was then Bishop of Galloway, commanding all who were within the chamber to remove, and had with him a long conference; exhorted him most earnestly not to molest or remove the Lord's servants, and not to enforce or enthral their consciences to receive the Five Articles of Perth, nor to do anything against their consciences, but to behave himself meekly toward them as he would wish to have mercy from God. The Bishop answered, "My Lord, our ceremonies are of their own nature but things indifferent, and we impose them for decency and order in God's kirk: they need not to stand scrupulously upon them as matters of conscience in God's worship." My Lord Kenmure replied, "I am not to dispute with you; but one thing I know and can tell you out of dear experience, that these things indeed are matters of conscience, and not indifferent, and so I have found them; for since I did lie down in this bed, the sin that lieth heaviest upon my soul, and hath burdened my conscience most,

was my withdrawing of myself from the Parliament, and not giving my voice for the truth against these things that they call indifferent, for in so doing I have denied the Lord my God."

When the Bishop began to commend and encourage him for his well-led life, and did put him in hope of health, and praised him for his civil carriage, and legal behaviour, saying, he was not an oppressor, and without any known vice, he answered, "My Lord, that is no matter: a man may be a good civil neighbour and yet go to hell." The Bishop answered, "I confess, my Lord, we have all our own faults;" and thereafter insisted in long discourse that my Lord thought impertinent. This made him interrupt the Bishop, saying, "What should I more? I have gotten a grip of Jesus Christ, and Christ of me. God be with your Lordship."

On the morrow, the Bishop came to visit him, and said, "My Lord, how do you?" My Lord answered, "I thank God, as well as a saved man hastening to heaven can do." After that he had given the clerk of Kirkcudbright a most divine and grave counsel anent his Christian carriage, and how he should walk in his particular calling, he caused him hold up his hand, and swear by the Lord that he should never consent, but to oppose to the election of a corrupt minister or magistrate.

He said to his coachman, "You will now go to any man that will give you most hire; but do not so. Go where ye may get best company: though you get less wages, yet will you get the more grace, (he made him hold up his hand and promise before God to do so,) because your calling is subject to drunkenness and company."

To two young serving men, that came to him weeping to get his last blessing, he said, "Content not yourselves to be like old wives with a superficial show of religion, to make a show of blessing yourselves in the morning for the fashion only; yea, although you would pray both morning and evening, yet that will not avail you, except likewise you make your account every day. Oh! ye will find few to direct or counsel you: but I will tell you what to do: first, pray the Lord fervently to enlighten the eyes of your mind,

then seek grace to rule your affections. Ye will find the good of this when you are as I am." He took their oath to strive to do so; and as he counselled them, he made many divine and powerful exhortations to so many sundry persons, that all might be hardly written for length. He caused every man to hold up their hands, and swear in his presence that by God's grace they should forbear their former sins and follow his counsel.

After that he had exhorted many friends and servants, as they were going out of the chamber, he said to them, "Stay, Sirs, I have somewhat yet to say. Be not deceived with the world; for me I have played the fool, and brought the house of Kenmure to the perfection of a complete fabric, as it was never before, and busied myself exceedingly; and when I came to the top of my hopes, and thought to enjoy them, the Lord came and plucked me from my hopes: thereafter I did see my own folly; and this also I observed in my father. Take example by me, and be not ensnared with the world. There be some who seek the world too carefully, and some too greedily, and many unlawfully; and men have it so much in their mind, that they are upon the world in the morning ere they come out of their bed, and before ever they seek God. Sirs, set your hearts to give pains in sad earnest for the kingdom of heaven. I will tell you the heavenly kingdom is not gotten with a skip or a leap. I find it now: there must be thrusting, and thronging, and climbing, to enter in. It is a strait and narrow way." His omission of prayer in the morning time, through needless foils and distractions, touched his conscience. This he confessed with regret.

He was giving a divine counsel to a friend, and rested in the midst of it, and looked up to heaven, and prayed for a loosed heart and tongue to express the goodness of God to men; and thereafter went on in his counsel, not unlike to Jacob, Gen. xlix. 18, who, in the midst of a prophetical testament, resteth a little, and saith, "Lord, I have waited for thy salvation."

He gave his Lady divers times, and that openly, an honourable and ample testimony of holiness and goodness, and all respective

kindness to her husband, and craved her forgiveness earnestly where he had offended her, and desired her to make the Lord her comforter, and said he was but gone before, and it was but fifteen or sixteen years up or down.

He spake ordinarily to all the boys of the house, servants, butlers, cooks, omitting none, saying, "Learn to serve and fear the Lord, and use the means of your salvations carefully, that you put not your accounts to the hinder end of the day as I did foolishly. I know what is ordinarily your religion: ye go to the kirk, and when ye hear the devil or hell named in the preaching, ye sigh and make a noise, and it is forgot with you before you come home, and then ye are holy enough; but I can now tell you the kingdom of heaven is not gotten so easily. Then your pastors and guides mislead you. They are but a pack of dumb dogs. Use the means yourself, and win to some sense of God, and pray as you can morning and evening. If you be ignorant of the way to heaven, God forgive you; for I discharged myself in that point toward you, and appointed a man to teach you. Your blood be upon yourselves. The little knowledge that you have, if you would use it carefully, and with a good conscience, the Lord would lead you on farther, and teach you his ways; but your form is to ask for that master who will give you most hire, and little care you to live in good company, where you may find the means of salvation; and so ye spend the time all over in the ignorance of God." He took an oath of his servants that they should follow his advice. He had a speech severally to every one of them. He was so far humbled, that he said to every one of them, (the meanest not excepted,) "If I have been rough to thee, or offended thee, I pray thee for God's sake forgive me." And, among others, one to whom he had been rough said, "Your Lordship did me never wrong: I will never get such a master again." Yet my Lord urged the boy to say, "My Lord, I forgive you:" howbeit the boy was hardly brought to utter these words.

He said to all the beholders about him, "Sirs, behold how low the Lord hath laid me."

To a gentleman burdened in his estate,—"Sir, I counsel you to cast your burdens upon the Lord your God."

A worthy and religious gentleman, of his name, came to visit him four days before his death. He beholding him afar off, said, "Robert,[1] come to me, leave me not till I die." Thereafter being much comforted with the gentleman's words, he would have him to wait upon his body; and being more and more comforted with his speeches, he said, "Robert, you are a friend both to my soul and to my body." This gentleman asked him, saying, "My Lord, what comfort hath your soul in your love towards the saints?" He answered, "I rejoice at it." Then he asked, "What comfort have you in bringing this pastor who attends you to Galloway?" He answered, "God knoweth that I rejoice that ever God did put it in my heart so to do; and now because I aimed at God's glory in it, the Lord hath made me to find comfort to my soul: in the end, I would counsel all men that think to die, to lay up many good works against the time of departure. The ministers of Galloway murthered my father's soul; and if this man had not come, they had murthered mine also."

In the hearing of my Lady Herries, his sister, a Papist, he testified how willing he was to leave the world, that he could not command his soul to look back again to this life. He did so long (as he said) for his soulful of the well of life, that Papists may see that those who die in this religion see and know well whither they go, and that we are by death fully loosed from the love of this world, for the hope of our own Father's house.

It was told him that letters were come from some of his friends to him, he caused deliver them to his Lady, saying, "I have nothing to do with them: I had rather hear of news from heaven concerning my eternal salvation."

It was observed, when any came to him anent worldly business, that before they were out at the doors he returned unto praying, conference, meditation, or some spiritual exercise, and was exceeding short in despatching all earthly business; yet so as he took

[1] Supposed to be Robert Gordon of Knockbraks. See *ante*, p. 343.

the pains to sign all needful writs when he was required; likewise, he recommended the case of the poor to his friends.

When he was wearing weaker, he fell in a swoon; and being awaked, he said, with smiling and signs of joy, to all about him, "I would not exchange my life with you all, nay, not with you who are ministers. I feel the smell of the place where I am going to."

Upon the Friday, in the morning, 12th September, which was the day of his departure, he said to the pastor, "This night must I sup with Jesus Christ in Paradise." The pastor read to him 2 Cor. v.; Rev. xxii.; and made some short notes upon such places as concerned his estate. After prayer, he said, "I conceive good hope that God looketh upon me when he gives his servants such liberty as to pray for me. Is it possible that Jesus Christ can loose his grips of me? neither may my soul get itself plucked from Jesus Christ."

He earnestly desired sense of God's presence, and the pastor said, "What, my Lord, if that be suspended till you come to your own home, and be before the throne clothed in white, and get your harp in your hand to sing salvation to the Lamb, and to him that sitteth on the throne: for that is heaven, and who dare promise you it upon earth? There is a piece of nature in desiring a sense of God's love, it being an apple that the Lord's children delight to play with; but, my Lord, if you would have it only as a pledge of your salvation, we shall seek it from the Lord to you, and you may lawfully pray for it." Earnest prayers were made for him, and my Lord testified that he was filled with the sense of his Lord's love.

Being asked what he thought of the world, he answered, "It is bitterer than gall or wormwood." Being demanded if now he feared death, he answered, "I have tasted death now: it is not a whit bitter; welcome the messenger of Jesus Christ." He never left off to mourn for his sins, especially his deserting of the Parliament.

The pastor said to him, "My Lord, there is a process betwixt

the Lord and your father's house; but your name is taken out of the process. Dear, and how dear, was heaven bought for you by your Saviour Jesus Christ." "I know there is a wrath against my father's house, but I shall get my soul for a prey;" which words he had frequently in his mouth. Oft times also he would say, "Is not this a sweet word that God saith, 'As I live, I delight not in the death of sinners?'" He said often, "I will not let go the grip that I have gotten of Christ: though he should slay me, I will trust in him, and lie at his feet, and die there; and lie at his door like a beggar waiting on; and if I may not knock, I shall scrape." Another word was ordinary to him, "O Son of God, one love-blink, one smack, one kiss of thy mouth, one smile!"

When he had been deep in a meditation of his change of life, he made this question, "What will Jesus Christ be like when he cometh?" It was answered, "All lovely."

The day of his change, being Friday, 12th September, he was heard pray divinely; on which day he said to the doctor, "I thought to have been dissolved ere now." The pastor answered, "My Lord, weary not of the Lord's yoke; Jesus Christ is posting fast to be at you; he is within few miles." He answered mildly, "This is my infirmity; I will wait on; he is worthy the on-waiting. Though he be long in coming, yet I dare say he is coming, leaping over the mountains, and skipping over the hills: if he were once come we should not sunder."

The pastor answered, "Some have gotten in this same life their full of Christ; howbeit, Christ is oft under a mask to his own in this life, and will have them kissing him through a mask; yet even his best saints, Job, David, Jeremiah, were under desertions."

My Lord answered, "What are their examples to me? I am not in holiness near to Job, David, or Jeremiah." The pastor answered, "It is true, my Lord, you cannot take such wide steps as they did, but you are in the same way with them; a young child followeth his father at the back, though he cannot take such wide steps as he, yet this hindereth him not to be in the same way with him. My Lord, your hunger overcometh your faith; only but

believe his word; you are longing for Christ: only believe Jesus Christ is faithful, and will come quickly."

To this my Lord answered, "I think it time—Lord Jesus, come!" Then the pastor said, "My Lord, our nature is in trouble to be wholly upon our own deliverance; whereas God seeketh first to be glorified in our faith, and patience, and hope, and then it is time enough that we be delivered." He answered, "Good reason, my Lord be first served. Lord give me to wait on; only, Lord, burn me not to dross."

Another said, "Cast back your eyes, my Lord, upon that which you have received, and be thankful;" at the hearing whereof, he presently broke forth in praising of God; and finding himself weak, and his speech failing, some more than an hour before death, he desired the pastor to pray, which he did. After prayer, the pastor cried in his ear, "My Lord, may you now sunder with Christ?" He said nothing, nor was it expected he should speak any more; yet a little after, the pastor asked, "Have you any sense of the Lord's love?" He answered, "I have sense." The pastor said, "Do you not enjoy?" He answered, "I do enjoy." Thereafter the pastor said, "Will you not sunder with Christ?" He answered, "By no means." This was the last word, not being able to speak any more.

The pastor asked if he should pray. He turned his eye towards the pastor. In the time of that last prayer he was observed joyfully smiling, and looking up with glorious looks, as was observed by the beholders; and with a certain beauty his visage was beautified as beautiful as ever he was in his life. He expired with loud and strong fetches and sobs, being strong of heart and body, of the age of five and thirty years. The expiring of his breath, the ceasing of the motion of his pulse, (which the physician was still gripping,) trysted all precisely with the "Amen" of his prayer; and so died he sweetly and holily, and his end was peace. He departed, about the setting of the sun, September 12, 1634.

Blessed are they who die in the Lord.

THE

MEMOIRS

OF

WALTER PRINGLE OF GREENKNOW;

OR

SOME FEW OF THE FREE MERCIES OF GOD TO HIM, AND HIS WILL TO HIS CHILDREN, LEFT TO THEM UNDER HIS OWN HAND.

"For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment."—Gen. xviii. 19.

NOTE.

THE following MEMOIRS relate to one whose sufferings entitle him to a somewhat conspicuous place among the worthies of his age. The family of PRINGLE is known to have taken an active and prominent part in the proceedings of the eventful times to which the narrative relates. In the year 1685, George Pringle of Torwoodlee, "a gentleman of fine spirit, and singularly religious," according to Wodrow, was tried, along with Hume of Polwart and Fletcher of Saltoun, for his share in the Rye-House Plot; and both his family and himself were in consequence exposed to many hardships and privations. He was denounced as a rebel, and outlawed; while all his "lands, heritages, goods, and gear, were forfeited to his Majesty's use," to be afterwards bestowed on some of his favourites.

His son, James Pringle, shared in the hardships consequent on his father's forfeiture. His movements were all directed by the reigning authorities; and, though he was constitutionally delicate and feeble in body, he durst not even transfer his residence from one place to another, for the sake of health, without entering into a bond to comply with the oppressive restrictions of the men in power. The cause then held sacred by so many in Scotland was specially befriended by the Pringles; and their sufferings were just in proportion to their influence and zeal.

Walter Pringle of Greenknow, the author and subject of the following Memoir, was married to a daughter of George Pringle of Torwoodlee; so that, either directly or incidentally, his Memoirs enable us to ascertain the principles and the spirit which carried more than one family through the hot trials of those times when the principles on

which the British constitution is based, and by which British liberty is guaranteed, were wrought out, by the blessing of God on the miseries and endurance of many good men.

The following pages are reprinted from an edition, which is most probably the first, published at Edinburgh in the year 1723. Dr M'Crie (Life of Veitch, p. 75) refers to another edition of 1751. Whether we consider the rank or the sufferings of the author, it appears that his Memoir deserves to be more widely known than it has hitherto been, and that although we may not approve of every action done, or of every opinion entertained by him.

TO THE READER.

CHRISTIAN READER,

SEEING there is nothing for its usefulness more advantageous, for its purity more cleanly, for its ornament more comely, for its excellency more acceptable to God, than pure religion and undefiled, which bringeth salvation with it, it is sadly to be lamented by all, that in this day the power of godliness is not only much neglected, the hearts of the most part being glued to this world, but religion even amongst professors is turned to a mere form and empty shadow; the universality and prevalency of which evil may make us cry out with bitter lamentations, alas! upon too good ground, that our gold is become dim, our silver dross, and our wine not only mixed, but almost degenerate into water: all flesh corrupting their ways more and more daily, from the highest to the lowest: secular interests pursued with full might by ways destructive to religion. But, oh! this sighing and going backward is not of yesterday, which is acknowledged by all, but laid to heart rightly by very few. It is long since the glory of the Lord began to depart from this sinful land; yet the want of his presence, and the restraint of the Spirit of grace, is little bewailed, so as to make narrow search into the procuring causes thereof, which are many for their number, as well as highly aggravating for their circumstances. And because we have dealt very corruptly against the Lord, and have not kept the commandments,

statutes, nor judgments which he commanded, therefore hath he left us to walk in counsels of our own; hence our day goeth away, and our night approacheth apace.

Why these following Memoirs are now exposed to public view so long after the worthy author's death, there is no need to be scrupulously careful in giving an account, especially seeing the character of this godly gentleman is already well-known by his valiant and heroic appearances in defence of the covenanted Reformation, his name being once and again insert amongst the honourable remonstrators and protesters. It is true, indeed, the holiest of men do ordinarily most veil themselves with a modest shyness of communicating these privacies of their own souls, and take special care to conceal them while alive. Thus it was with this pious gentleman, as the following Memoirs and his inscription upon them show, viz., "Some of the free Mercies of God to me," and "My Will to my Children,"—importing their intended use was to represent his great concern for the advancing of Christ's kingdom in general, as well as his becoming care and diligence in leading an holy and exemplary life before his own children and family in particular.

It is presumed none will be offended at the publication hereof. The design being innocent, the thing cannot be culpable; and though the censorious may, as is very common, disgust some expressions, yet a soul rightly acquainted with the life and power of religion may easily perceive this gentleman hath made religion his assiduous exercise, and so will construct favourably of any seemingly unguarded expressions. Although the work (which carries sufficient commendation with it) be owing entirely to the gentleman, or rather the grace of God in him, the making it public is from the advice and earnest desire of some judicious godly persons endeavouring, in some measure, to bear testimony against the abounding sins in this day, as the Cloud of Witnesses and this religious gentleman did in their day. The manuscript from which this is published was taken from, and compared with, the most correct copy that could be had.

Here are tabled such lively representations of faith, love, hope, zeal for Christ, heavenly-mindedness, meekness, self-denial, entire resignedness to the will of God, in their first and continued motions, as may make the reader admire the wonderful love and condescension of God in Christ, and ambitious of experiencing how an heart touched from above works, and tends thitherward; how it depresses itself in humiliation, dilates itself in love, lifts up itself in praise, submits itself under chastenings and reproaches, and draws in its refreshings and supplies as there is need.

That the God of all grace, who supported this gentleman in all his sharp trials, perils, imprisonments, reproaches, and difficulties of various kinds, and enabled him to bear all with invincible patience and meekness, being for his name's sake, may bless the following Memoirs to every reader, as they have been to those of the house of Greenknow, [and others,] is sincerely desired.

THE

MEMOIRS OF WALTER PRINGLE.[1]

SECTION I.

AT GREENKNOW, ON SATURDAY, AUGUST 2, 1662, BEING A PRIVATE FAST-DAY TO ME.

SINCE my God gave me children, it hath been much upon my mind to record for their use the wonderful goodness of God to me, which I have delayed to do for some years; so that now, unless preventing mercy help, I shall not get it so performed, as once I might, when the workings of God were fresher upon my spirit than at this present time. Yet I will not limit my Holy One, who can, and in due time will, send the Comforter to bring to my remembrance what is needful: then shall I declare the riches of his free grace to me, the chief of sinners. However, I will labour as the Lord, without whom I can do no good, shall give it me, to stir up and exhort my children to flee from the wrath which is coming upon a lost world, and to lay hold on the offered salvation.

[1] First copied from the original by James Pringle of Greenknow, 1684; and from thence carefully transcribed.

But, knowing mine own weakness, I would not offer to do anything of this kind, were it not to my children, who, I hope, will bear with mine infirmities; and if anything escape me, will do as Shem and Japheth did to their father. But if there be any mockers among my children, I trust this shall not come into their hands. That is a cursed child indeed who dare mock at the words of a father, though but minting at truth, especially when he is dead: for I do not intend that this shall come unto any of you until I be gone out of this life. So I hope my words may then have some weight with you. Oh! to have you all to enter in, with your mother and me, to those mansions which our blessed Lord hath prepared for all them that love him. Will any of you be so mad as to separate yourselves from that joyful and glorious company? I believe that those of you who die in your childhood shall be saved, through the riches of the free grace of God in Jesus Christ. But if any of you perish, being come to age, your destruction will be of yourselves: for you must look to receive according to your faith and works: "By faith we are saved;" and where faith is, "there will be works also." "If any man love our Lord, he will keep his commandments." O how all the truths of God are linked together! It is not in the power of enemies to break that chain; though it hath been their endeavour since the beginning, and will be unto the end. Yet heaven and earth shall pass away; but one jot or one tittle of the Word of God shall in no ways fall to the ground. My children, read the Scriptures diligently, and pray for the Spirit of truth that you may understand them: for although they are plain and easy unto such as are taught of God, though they were but babes, yet are they hid from the wise and prudent of this world. Oh! they are not happy whom the world doth esteem to be so: for what is the honour, and what are the riches and pleasures of this world, but as a busked hook, which many times doth draw the poor soul to dreadful destruction? This is the broad way, wherein many are walking; but strive ye to walk in the narrow way, which leadeth unto life: then shall it be better with you than the tongues of angels and men can express. This

truth my soul doth believe; and I leave it unto you subscribed with the hand of your father.

(*Sic subscribitur*) WA. PRINGLE.

Blessed be my God, who hath helped me to begin this work, and who I trust will perfect it.

SECTION II. *August* 27, 1662.

Some have wisdom, and others have learning, which doth help them to bring forth that which may be esteemed of, either for the matter or for the language; but as for me, I can neither speak nor write sense, if God help me not. Also I am of a lazy disposition, and cannot pray, nor meditate, nor write, except my Holy One stir me up to it; I have therefore cause to bless him, whenever I am helped to any religious exercise. I will now offer to mention somewhat of the Lord's way with me.

In my childhood, though I was much indulged by my parents, and greatly given to playing, yet now and then I had some far-off looks towards God, beginning to pray unto him; once especially, I remember at the north-east end of Stitchel Hall, before there were any new building or a garden there, my heart was, for a short time, very much drawn forth toward God, finding fellowship with him sweeter than all things else, which could not be attained without the pardon of sin, so I was led to desire that, and did also beg grace to watch over my heart, that such a frame might not depart from me; and for some time I did watch as carefully over my thoughts and words as ever I did since.

Perhaps I could not at that time express these things so distinctly; but sure I am, I felt them more lively and fully than now I can declare. Blessed for ever be he who looked upon me in my low state. I was often led also to acknowledge God in my childish concernments, such as the getting of my lesson, or being freed from reproofs, frequently praying to escape correction when I

expected it. It is now my wonder that I should then have so acknowledged a power above man's, ruling the smallest of his actions, and far more the greatest. When now I believe this, what should trouble or move me? It is my wise and mighty God, my gracious and loving Father in Christ, that ruleth heaven and earth, and all the children of men; and without him a hair of mine head, or of the heads of any of his people, cannot fall to the ground. That which is, or shall be, both is, and shall be, according to his will. This is my rest, and herewith am I satisfied. Let me and all his chosen ones ever be so. What will become of all you who have no interest in this alone governor? If you have a shadow of prosperity, it will but last for a moment, and not so much, if it be compared with eternity: for a moment, when it is so compared, is not a moment; and then when your not a moment is past, what will you do? Oh! they have got a great length who believe there is such a thing as heaven and hell, and do sit down to ponder these truths seriously. Many say and imagine that they believe them, but do it not: for, if they did, they would either be under the terror of the one, or joy of the other; yea, the full persuasion thereof would distract those who are under wrath, and ravish the heirs of glory. My children, ponder these things: for, however I utter them, verily of themselves they are most weighty.

SECTION III. *September* 6, 1662.

Thus was I kept under convictions from, as I remember, the time I was seven or eight years of age, until I was twelve or thirteen, the love and fear of God ruling my heart in some measure. About the end of which time, when I was about eleven years of age, my precious brother went with me to Stirling, where I was a year or two taught by that eminent and pious minister, Mr James Lockie, who at that time could get no entrance into a church, because he would not conform to the bishops. He was removed by death about the time of the Covenant. As long as I was his

scholar, I did profit very well in learning, for it was pleasant unto me, he had such a good method of teaching; as also, he had very much of my heart. But most of all, it was his work to instruct us in the ways of God, keeping a good order in his family, in which I was, with thirteen or fourteen others. He used to cause us get many of the psalms by heart, desiring us to repeat them to ourselves after we went to bed. I remember my rest was never so sweet to me as when I had repeated them, and used some other devotion. I have many times then rested as under the shadow of the loving-kindness of God. Blessed be he for ever, who so shined upon me.

SECTION IV. *November* 1, 1662.

I was not a little sensible of the death of that worthy man, whom the Lord took up to Mount Pisgah, as it were, to see the land (to wit, the work of Reformation) afar off; after the first news whereof, he was taken into his rest. After that, I made no progress in learning, neither was I so kept in the ways of God; though sometimes good thoughts were borne in upon me, and I was kept in the love of powerful preaching. Often I have been refreshed by hearing Mr Thomas Wilkie, minister of Lilliesleaf, whose scholar I was in the year 1638, who did frequently shed tears while he was preaching. At that time, nine or ten of us did formally bind ourselves together, in a bond of brotherhood and love, in which we also engaged ourselves to the National Covenant. I mention these things because I love not to forget or to break those ties which we came under, even when we were but children; since the thing in itself was lawful, although, may be, it was rashly gone about by us at that time. In the year 1639, I was at Leith school: then did youthful lusts and corruptions begin to prevail over me, being stronger in me than the grace of God. I will not mention my particular abominations: for what God hath hid and covered I will not reveal. Only to mine own shame, and

to his praise who spared me, and had mercy upon me, I confess that for ten years together I was the chief of sinners; yet was I never without conviction, knowing that I was not then in the way of peace and life; and that if I should have died in such a case at that time, damnation would have been my lot. Often in this persuasion have I gone on in hazards in the wars and otherwise; and thus have I stepped about the brink of the bottomless pit, out of which there is no returning for them who once fall into it. But blessed for ever be my God, who had then a merciful eye upon me, and thoughts of love unto me. These years of darkness, deadness, and sinfulness, one of them was spent, or rather lost, in Leith, two at Edinburgh College, five at home and in the wars, (being a volunteer,) and two in France. Seldom all this time had I the confidence to pray unto God, or to worship him. Alas! that I should have lived so long without him in the world! Oh! that I may now be so much the more diligent in redeeming my time!

SECTION V. *November* 19, 1662.

All this time of my fearful going astray I had a love to the godly, and a high esteem of my worthy brother, whose memory is sweet to me. He often spoke edifyingly to me, and sometimes I had freedom to open my case to him. I cannot forget his loving parting with me when I went to France, where I had not stayed a year until I was stricken with the news of his decease, which made me go alone in the fields a whole day, having none to share with me in my grief, (although I had much love of the French, and there were none there but French,) for none knew the great loss which I sustained. I then thought that the death of no friend would ever afterwards move me; and in some measure I have found it so: for when any of my friends are removed, ordinarily my first thoughts are, my dear brother is gone. But why should this trouble me? for I shall soon go to him; and, which is most of all,

to his God and my God. I am sure it is not the worse for me that he is gone before me, although I cannot say it is to prepare a place for me: blessed for ever be my Lord, who hath taken upon himself that work. O how much doth his love surpass all created love! My God, lift up my soul above all creatures unto thyself, that I may love thee and adore thee. I know this shall be my pleasant work for evermore. Oh! my children, taste and see how pleasant a thing it is to know and enjoy God in Jesus Christ. I am as one got into a good habitation, and would fain have you with me. O how sweet is the life of a Christian, even while in this world! While I am now in the body, I earnestly desire to persuade you of these truths: for I shall not come back out of heaven that I may declare unto you the joys which are there for ever. God hath not appointed that way, but hath given unto you the words of Moses and the Prophets, and the words which our Lord spake when he was in the flesh, and the words of his apostles; and if you will not believe these, "Verily, neither will ye believe though one should rise from the dead." You cannot glorify God more than by believing; and what if I say that they glorify him most, who, upon least ground, (to express it so,) trust him? "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed." For which of these, think ye, honoureth a king most? He that trusteth his simple word, or he that will have word, oath, and writ for it? The thousandth part of a word from the Holy One, who cannot lie, is more sure than all those from man. But blessed be God, who doth so condescend to our weakness, as not only to give us his word, but his oath also, "That by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for him to lie, we might have strong consolation, who have fled for refuge, to lay hold upon the hope set before us." O! dear children, hasten, yea, hasten to fly from wrath into that hope, lest the other oath pass forth, viz. "Lest he swear in his wrath that ye shall not enter into his rest." O depart not from the living God! This I exhort you unto, while it is called to-day.

SECTION VI. *November* 24, 1662.

In June 1648 I came home from France, and was much pressed by my loving father to marry. Several were spoken of to me, but I could not incline so much as to go and see any, until the good providence of my God led me to see my wife at her brother-in-law Whitebank's house of Blackhaugh, where I went to stay a night with my old and intimate acquaintance, without the least purpose of seeing her or any other. And although I had been often in her brother's house, yet had not seen her. Neither did I think that he had a daughter for marriage, though I loved the family; but I found it otherwise, and from this time my affection was to her. But that this was only from the Lord, may appear by the accidentalness of my going there: for I had been in Edinburgh with my father, who, hearing of his brother Newhall's sickness, sent me out to see him; and Whitebank came to Newhall to me and took me home with him that night. Blessed be my God, who thus guided me in this, which is of most concernment of anything within time: yea, it may be said it is of eternal concernment to you, our children: for she not only is instant in instructing you in the fear, knowledge, and love of God, when you are come to be in any measure capable, as you yourselves are witnesses, but also she putteth up many prayers for you; yea, often before you came forth of her belly. Likewise, by her holy walking before you, she showeth forth, in her own conversation, that whereunto she doth so much exhort you. What will become of you if ye slight all this? seeing your mother is speaking to you the words of the kingdom while she is yet alive with you. And I, after I am gone, by this, still pressing you to come out from a world, and from your natural state, and to enter into and come through the new birth; without which you cannot enter into the kingdom of God. It is true, God worketh in us both to will and to do; but it is your part to wait at wisdom's gates, and to lay hold on his strength, that you may

make peace with him, and to go unto him that you may have life. Blessed be he who willeth not the death of a sinner, but saith unto you, "Why will ye die?" Hear his voice, and obey it: then shall you live for ever. So be it.

SECTION VII. *December* 1, 1662.

This mine affection I kept secret within mine own breast, fearing that my father, because of the smallness of the portion, would not give his consent, without which I was resolved never to marry. But at last my father, finding me averse from any he mentioned to me, began to suspect that my mind was that way; and when he posed me upon it, I confessed it unto him: and so great was his tenderness unto me that he consented, and gave me way to propose it, which I did to herself and her friends, having never spoken of it to them before, and appointed a meeting with them at Edinburgh for that effect. For which, and other business, my father went in; but the next day, before he had met with any of her friends, he was seized upon by sickness, and within fourteen days, in the beginning of May 1649, he was very peaceably removed from a troublesome world; I trust into life eternal. Thus I was left (being twenty-four years of age, and having little experience in the affairs of the world) with the oversight of eight of my dear brother's children, and a sister's son. My care was to discharge a faithful duty to them. Though the last of these hath other thoughts at this time, and is prejudged against me, I beg forgiveness to him from God, who is my witness that I never wronged him in a farthing to my knowledge; yea, I had rather quit all that I have in the world than bear such a sting in my conscience, and defile my soul with that which is evil. Blessed be my God, I am free from any such thing. Some there are who know the truth of my innocency, and that a just account was given of his estate. The profession I have walked in these fourteen years obligeth me to say this much; as also the desire I have that you, my children,

should live righteously in this present world, maketh me clear up to you what may seem to be otherwise in myself; yea, my study is to have always a "conscience void of offence toward God and toward men." And, dear children, "what will it profit any of you though you could gain the whole world, if you lose your own souls?" O! but a holy and upright walk with God and men will bring you inexpressible peace of mind, which will be unto you a continual feast. This is that which maketh a man bold as a lion; for when the world doth challenge and condemn, God doth absolve. And what if our righteousness should not (as it will in a great measure) be cleared up until the great day of judgment come? May we not rest satisfied till then? Oh! my children, so live, as with joy of heart you may wait for and expect that day; and never judge it well with you until you win to such a frame; for every good and faithful servant joyfully waiteth for his Master's coming. Ponder these things.

SECTION VIII. *December* 2, 1662.

I must mention here, that immediately after I had written what is above said, in our family exercise yesterday morning, the first word read by my worthy friend, the messenger of the Lord, Mr Luke Ogle,[1] who is here for the time, was Isaiah xxvi. 7, "The way of the just is uprightness: thou, most upright, dost weigh the path of the just." And is not this most suitable to that which I have been saying by way of vindication?

Five months passed after my father's decease ere I proceeded in my marriage, in which time I had good days at a communion in Lauder, which was the last which that precious servant of God, Mr James Guthrie, (whom I may call my father in the Gospel, if any man may be so called,) had in that place. And although my wife now was there at that time, yet I remember I had scarce one thought

[1] He is mentioned, in the Life of Livingstone, as Minister at Berwick.

of her all these three days, though I had very much of that which is called love. After that time, I was led into a more close way of walking with my God than formerly. Sometime, seeing Mr Guthrie, to whom I made known my purpose of marriage, asking his advice, he desired to understand if I knew any thing of a work of grace in her heart, which he said was most necessary, and that her having a good woman to her mother was not enough to me. But I was engaged before this, and have nothing to ascribe to mine own prudence or foresight, but very much, yea, more than can be expressed, to the goodness of my God, who not only gave me a good wife, but also made it appear to me that she was so before our marriage; for after we were contracted, by a wonderful passage of his providence, casting her into sickness, which she herself, and we also, thought might have proved deadly, she then spake freely of her soul's concernments, whereby the Lord's working upon her spirit did fully appear to me, and my scruple I had was then removed. When I remember this, I must glorify the name of my God. Praise be to him for evermore.

My children, I advise you, when you read what I write in this book, to read no more than one day's writing at one time, which you see is but very little; for I desire to be very serious in this that I do, and entreat that you may be so in reading. I commit all unto God, who can work upon you by means and without means.

SECTION IX. *December* 22, 1662.

In November 1649, we were married at Stow by that renowned Mr James Guthrie. My wife remained in Torwoodlee about six months, and thereafter came home to Stitchel, where we stayed five years with my mother; and with us there were five of my brother's children, (for Elizabeth stayed always with her mother, and the two youngest sons were removed by death,) my sister's son, and my dear friend, Mr James Aird. During this time, we

had a very loving, sweet, and peaceable society. My wife did grow in grace and in the knowledge of God, of which she is more able to give an account than I am. If before that time she was last, yet I am sure since she is first, and far more able to declare the wonderful riches of the goodness of God than I am; yet it is not my part to be silent in this matter, for blessed be He who is ever willing and ready to let forth abundantly unto me. But, oh! my narrowness and slackness in receiving from him. Yet I shall glory in mine infirmities if he be exalted, who was, is, and shall be, for ever glorious in himself, and nothing else is so; for all the creatures are more or less glorious according as they enjoy of, and give glory unto him. The angels and saints in glory delight in nothing more than in declaring that all they have is from him. His infinite wisdom, power, and goodness, brought them and us, who are here below, out of nothing, that we may for ever be happy in him. O for an enlarged heart to praise him! Should I not bless mine own lips when they are opened to show forth his praises, and the hand which doth write them down? Oh! that I may never love myself, but that he may be exalted in me, and by me, that is to love him only. Oh! sweet ravishment, to be ravished with his love. My children, I assure you that other lovers will not, neither can satisfy you, for they are vain and finite; but begin ye sincerely to love God, and upon my life, (this great word I express to hold forth the certainty of this truth,) the more you love him, the more shall you desire to love and enjoy him. Then shall you set to your seal that God is true, and that his word is so also. Then shall you say, "Now we believe, not because of thy saying: for we have heard him ourselves, and know that this is Christ, the Saviour of the world."

SECTION X. *December* 25, 1662.

Until the English army came into Scotland, I was much taken up with suits of law for my pupils, being always a defender; but

now and then I had sweet moments even while I was attending at great men's doors. It was no small affliction to me that I got so seldom stayed at home, where I had so much ground of outward contentment and inward advantage to my own spirit; but this I endeavoured to bear as my cross. When the English came in, I went to our army, and had my mother, my wife, and the children, in Edinburgh, until we were defeated at Dunbar, after which I brought them home to Stitchel; and my wife being big with child, I stayed with her until she was delivered of our daughter Catherine, upon the 10th day of November 1656. The next day a party of the English came in, and took up all this country, whereupon I went and stayed eight days in and about Torwoodlee. Then being accompanied with my brother Torwoodlee, I came in the night time to see my wife; and as we were returning back, it was my lot to recounter one of the English upon horseback, whom I killed, knowing that I could not get a prisoner carried to our army, for we had difficulty to get to it ourselves; and that which cleared me the more in this was, that he never asked quarters. But what of rashness was herein, I believe assuredly that the Lord my God hath pardoned it, and that it is done away in and through Jesus Christ my Saviour, who hath saved me from many grievous transgressions and sins which cannot be numbered, to whom I desire daily to run as unto a spring of living waters, a fountain opened for sin and for uncleanness, and one who hath the words of eternal life. In him I desire always to be found, not having mine own righteousness, but that which is by faith in him; this is that new and living way. Blessed for ever be the Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, who drew me unto him, and will now guide me by his counsel, and afterwards receive me into glory. The building of the temple was denied to David because he had been a man of war, and had shed blood. It is good to be tender of the lives of the smallest living creatures, but much more of man's life, not thrusting out the immortal soul, which returneth not again within time; for the best of men may say, "Spare me a little, that I may recover strength, before I go hence, and be no more." These and

other considerations move me to advise you, my sons, to embrace any other lawful employment rather than to be soldiers; but I will not wholly lay this bond upon you, since I do not esteem it to be unlawful; for if it had been so, our blessed Lord's forerunner, John the Baptist, would have said more to those soldiers who inquired at him what they should do, than commanded them to be content with their wages, &c. In our time, we have seen pious men in that employment; and I believe that there is a time coming wherein holiness shall be written upon the horses' bridles: and far more shall it be written upon the riders. Only, my sons, if ever in any part of the world you engage in this employment, be sure to have on your side the Lord God of Hosts, that whether you live or die, it may be unto him.

SECTION XI. *December* 31, 1662.

This preceding account is one of the most considerable passages of my life; and upon it dependeth much of my Christian walk, as may afterwards appear, and therefore I have mentioned it. After this, I spake with my worthy friend, Colonel Gilbert Ker, at Glasgow, to whom I purposed to return when once I had been at St Johnstoun. At Stirling, I advised with my dear friend, Mr James Guthrie, anent mine own and my brother's children's (to whom that faithful man had ever a most tender respect) concernments; then I went to St Johnstoun, where I had not stayed eight days until the news came of the total defeat of Colonel Ker's forces at Hamilton. I remained at St Johnstoun until the castle of Edinburgh was to be rendered to the English; and my own and my pupils' writs being there, I took occasion to come over to Edinburgh upon our Chancellor's pass, and from thence I came home to Stitchel, where I was not many days until the English got knowledge of me, and of that which I had done; whereof, and of their purpose to apprehend me, I was advertised, though I had not the least inclination to go from home; yet being pressed by my friends, I went to Northum-

berland, and stayed some few days in my cousin Major Pringle's house; after which I returned home, and expected every day to have been taken, if not worse: for I was informed that the man who was killed had friends who made many vows to be avenged, but nothing could move me in the frame of spirit wherein I was; yea, many a time I then thought that I could as willingly have opened the buttons of my breast to receive death's stroke as ever I did to go to bed. At length a party of horse came and took me, and kept me prisoner that night at Darnick, where, I will never forget, it was my ordinary to read the 100th Psalm, which I did with very much joy and peace, although, as to the outward, it was the darkest hour of trouble which I have had in my life. I was alone with them all that night, for those of the house I knew not. The next morning my mother-in-law came to see me; and that day I was carried to Selkirk, and examined by Major Robertson, of whose regiment the man had been. I denied nothing, but pleaded that I was a soldier standing upon defence of my country from the invasion. Afterwards I was let go upon my father-in-law and Whitebank's bond of L.2000 sterling penalty, that I should compear again. All this time, my true friend, Mr James Aird, was most diligent and careful in soliciting the chief officers at Edinburgh for me, and rode many miles for that business, which love of his, I and mine should ever remember; and, therefore, I thus mention it. He did what was done, yet little assurance could be had from men of my life: for when I went secretly to Edinburgh, and laid the business as it stood before my worthy Lord Warristoun, he advised me not to compear, and so did others; but I could never agree to that, but gave up myself into the hands of my God, without whom I knew a hair of my head could not fall, and who ruled over them who sought my life. The rest of this I must leave till the next occasion, which may be to-morrow, if God give it and spare me: unto his holy will I ever desire to submit.

SECTION XII. *January* 1, 1663.

At last the chief officers were content to refer the matter to the captain of whose troop the man had been, to whom my mother very speedily paid a hundred and fifty pounds sterling for the use of the man's friends, as they pretended. In all this I was wholly passive; for all was done by Mr Aird, only my mother paid the money at Torwoodlee, where the captain had his quarters. I had never a sweeter time in my life than this was, being fully assured, that whatever way it went it should be well: for I sought nothing but to have God to be my God, and blessed for ever be he who gave himself to me, and gave me full submission to his will. Yet I was not without some submissive desires that he would free me out of that trouble; for I thought if I should come to lose my life, it would not be a clear suffering for the name of Jesus Christ, especially seeing some made it then their trade to kill them for their purses; but that was not my case, for I would touch nothing of his but his arms. O! what a happiness I thought it was for one to lay down their life for Christ. These considerations moved me to think, that if God would deliver me and lengthen my days, I should be wholly his, and at his disposal. Many a time I have vowed so to be both then and since; and here I do renew my vows, setting it down under my hand, that God (without whom I can perform nothing) strengthening me, I shall forsake houses, lands, possessions, country, friends, wife, children, life, and all for him, to whom oftener than once or twice I have given all that seemeth to be mine, which now I profess I enjoy, as lent by him to me, whose voice I hear say to me, "Occupy till I come." Lord and Master, help me so to do! And now not only these outward things do I give unto thee, my God, but, which is far more than all these, even the eternal life of my soul, as a token of my love to thee; and I trust in thee, who will make all to work together for my good, both here and hereafter, so that in this my resigning up of my life unto thee I shall be no loser: for it is to

one that will keep it better than I can. But I will not spend my care upon that only. I pray [thee,] Father, keep me from sinning against thee, and keep me in thy love always; and when I think that I stand, help me to take heed lest I fall, and help me always to mind the good of thy people, praying for the peace of thy Jerusalem. My children, whom for a while I have forgotten, Oh! strive to enter within the walls of this Jerusalem; for peace shall only be there, and prosperity within her palaces.

SECTION XIII. *January* 31, 1663.

In the year 1651, I became a constant hearer of that lively man, Mr John Livingstoun, going every Sabbath day from Stitchel to Ancrum. By the way, I have had many a sweet hour, and I ever heard him with great delight and profit to my soul, always esteeming the word spoken by him not to be his, but God's. Beyond any that ever I knew, he hath brought his wisdom, learning, and parts, whereof he hath a very large share, most in subjection to God; so that not by these, but by the movings of the Spirit of truth, did he speak out of the abundance that was in his heart, therefore, through the goodness of God, his words did reach into the hearts of others; but, in a word, he hath seen the glory of God, and doth speak what he hath seen and heard. I am debtor more than I can express to this worthy man: for besides the hearing of him preach, I have had sweet fellowship with him, ever delighting in his company. And once when I was lying in one bed with him at Eglinham, about the middle of the night, I awakened with most sweet breathings upon my spirit, which caused me to shed tears with much joy upon my pillow. This I revealed not to him; and here I mention it without any observation, lest I should seem to be positive in that which is not yet understood. Now this precious man is banished out of these lands by the Lords of Council. As a child from a father did I part with him at Leith, upon the 14th day of this present month; yet nothing of this doth trouble me,

but the fear I have of what the Lord God may be minding by banishing such shining lights out of the land. If it be his will to remove his glory out of this and our neighbouring lands, that he may plant it among some others of the nations of the earth, I willingly submit to his sovereignty. Only I pray that my poor children, and the children of the faithful in these lands, whom I am bound to remember, may be taken away to reside in the place where the name of our God shall be. And if it be his holy will that our carcases should fall in the wilderness, we not seeing any more of these good days which we have seen, nor of the glorious days which are coming, so be it; yet, O Lord God, cause the posterity enter in, and let them not be rebellious as we have been. Yet do I not know how soon his wonderful mercies may prevent us. O to believe! we should then see all things to be possible. O for a spirit of prayer to be poured out upon his people in these lands, that we may take hold of him, not letting him depart; for there is room enough, so to speak, in our Father's house, for these and other nations of the earth also.

SECTION XIV. *February* 28, 1663.

I came from Stitchel to remain at Greenknow, in March 1655; after which I was no more a constant hearer of Mr John Livingstoun. Being taken up with worldly business through the week, my desire was to rest on the Sabbath, that is, to bring in my mind from off all things else, to think on my God; so striving to be still, "that I might know that he alone is God," (Psalm xlvi. 10;) which once was a rich place to me, and whereupon I have often fed for these several years past. I had never any doubt, which did not presently evanish when once I believed that truth of all truths, that God is. Then did I believe the whole truths which are contained in the Scriptures, and then was I quickened and strengthened for every duty; but often in one day would this truth be with me and from me: not that ever I fell into that height of atheism as

fully to deny God, but often have I wanted the present full persuasion of his being, whereof I have been more fully assured than of mine own, and that not because I have been brought up with the hearing others say so; but blessed for ever be He who hath often made every pile of grass and every moving creature, yea, whatever I did see with my eye, or touch with my hand, to preach forth unto me his infinite power, wisdom, goodness, and glory. My soul rejoiceth in the faith and full assurance of this, that he is, and that he is a "rewarder of all them that diligently seek him." Oh! my dear children, strive to be of that happy and blessed number whose reward is not yet known: "For now are we the sons of God, but it doth not yet appear what we shall be." Take God for your guide, and he will lead you safely into his glory. Others may point at the way, but who can carry a soul through the many difficulties of this life, and far less through the valley and shadow of death, but God alone? Who can clear up every doubt, turning darkness into light, weakness into strength, and death unto life, giving a being unto things which are not? My children, know Him, adore Him, and believe in Him, that ye may have it to say, Now we believe, not because of our father and others' sayings, but having heard Him ourselves, we know indeed that he is the Saviour of the world. Need you not this salvation? If you can say that you are happy without God, then do not seek after him; but, oh! none can have such a fearful thought in their heart, and the conscience, which is God's witness, not accusing them of their abominable lying. And now, seeing there is no happiness, true joy, nor peace, but in God, arise and seek it in Him through Jesus Christ, forsaking all other lords and masters, for you cannot serve two.

SECTION XV. *March* 16, 1663.

Blessed be my God who, upon Tuesday last, gave unto me another child, to whom I may leave some words in record, seeing

I know not if I shall live till he come to understanding. Although I may say that there were prayers put up for thee before thou camest into this world, yet I will mention what was done at the time of thy coming into it. I was in the inner garden praying to my God in the time of my wife's travailing, when the news of thy birth came unto me, and before I came up to see my wife, or had seen thy face, I bowed down upon my knees to worship, and give thanks unto God, to whom I gave thee fully up in a solemn manner, praying that thou might be wholly His, and that He might care for thee; for what is my care, or the care of the wisest or greatest of men, without God's blessing? This I did at the plum-tree, on the north side of the garden-door. I mention the place, that if thou come to years, it may put thee in mind, after I am gone, of that which was done for thee in the first moment of thy coming into the world. It will be a terrible thing for thee, when thou comest to have knowledge of good and evil, to deny, or to neglect to give thyself unto God; contradicting by thy words or deeds what I have done, and so striving to recal my word, which thou canst not recal: for if thou receive not the truth, it shall be a witness against thee in the day of judgment, and shall add to thy condemnation; yea, and mine eye shall not pity thee, though now thou art near my heart, as are also all the rest of my children. But I hope for better things of thee, and that if thou come to age, thou wilt heartily consent to that which thy father hath promised, and will seal it with thy holy life; and then mayest thou lay hold on this for thine encouragement when thou dost serve the God of thy father. O! a rich reward shall be given unto thee, and more than heaven and earth shall be thy portion. With all thy might and speed seek for life eternal; for so soon as thou didst enter into this life thou criedst mortally. And yesterday, being the day whereon thou wast received into the Visible Church and baptized, our faithful minister, Mr John Hardie, preached upon these words, Psalm cii. 23: "He shortened my days," which was very pertinent doctrine for a young pilgrim: for thy name, Walter, is High Dutch, and doth signify pilgrim, or woodman. Oh! that thou and I may

live as pilgrims in this earth, abstaining from fleshly lusts and pleasures, and travelling towards a city which hath foundations. Since I understood the meaning of my own name, it hath been of some use to me: I pray that it may be so also to thee.

SECTION XVI. *May* 29, 1663.

It comes to my remembrance to mention a passage concerning my eldest son Robert, how that upon Saturday, the 23d of April 1653, being the day whereon I came home to Stitchel from London, I heard at Wooller that he was dangerously sick, and, as was thought, could not be living till I got home; and when I came, I found him at the very point of death: upon which I went alone to pray for thee, my son, who wast then about sixteen months old, and got very much assurance that it should be well with thy soul if thou shouldst be removed, and did fully submit to the will of my God, giving thee freely up unto him; yea, desiring that my gracious God would rather be pleased to take thee (then in thy innocent days) unto himself, than to continue thee to live in the world a stranger and enemy to him. These thoughts were then more upon my spirit than now I can express them. Only, my dear son, with thy whole might seek grace from God that thou mayest fulfil the desires of thy father in living unto God: in so doing alone thou shalt be happy. I know not if I can leave thee what I presently possess of the things of this world, although I think I shall rather add to them than take from them, yet I know not but God, who gave them unto me, may take them from me, or call me to forsake them for his truth's sake; as some in these days are called and honoured to do. Wilt thou be offended at me if I quit the things of this life, which lasteth but for a moment, for that life in glory which shall have no end? Oh! my son, be thou so far from condemning me (if I receive grace to make this wise choice) as to make it thyself. Then shalt thou be a wise merchant, when, with the sale of all, thou buyest that inestimable jewel, the

favour and peace of God. Then shalt thou find that there is a hundred-fold even in this life with persecution and life eternal. Oh! who knoweth the worth or glory of that life? Have any come back to tell us what these mansions are? or if they had, would we hear or understand their relation? It is our best to believe, "that now we are the sons of God, and that it doth not yet appear what we shall be."

Dear son, think on these things until thy heart be ravished with love to God, who sent his Son Jesus Christ to purchase this great salvation. What I say to one, I say to all of you, "Love God, and keep his commandments," which are not grievous. Thus have I spent this morning, and, God assisting me, shall not spend the afternoon in conforming to the world, in ranting, and rioting, and drunkenness. God pardon this perverse generation, and make them to flee from the wrath to come.

SECTION XVII. *August* 11, 1663.

When first I came to dwell here, it was much upon my spirit to entreat my God, who doth appoint the bounds of every one's habitation, as Acts xvii. 26, graciously to shine upon us in this house, and as then I was led to mention in a letter to my worthy brother, Whitebank, that as the name of this place is Green, so he might pray to the Lord to make it green and flourishing. Many a prayer was put up to God in this house before I came here; and O that the name of God may be made mention of as truth here when I am gone, yea, as long as sun and moon endure! This is a great request for me to ask, but it is a small thing for my God to give; for he is a great King.

When I came hither, I did more than before look upon this as mine own family, having from God received the charge of it with my wife, who in the service of God is truly a helper unto me; for the family worship had been often better performed by her in my absence than by me when present, only it was much upon my

heart that we should all live together in the love and fear of God, strengthening and helping to build up one another.

I could then have wished never to change one servant, but when I found that could not be, I was led to think and hope there might be a good Providence in often changing, I being passive, seeing that thereby many might hear, and some of these might get a word cast in; which, though it should lie long hid as seed under the ground, yet, through the goodness of God, might spring up before the hour of their death. However, his word never returneth empty, but it is either the savour of life or death, in both which God is glorified; and seeing it is so, his under-labourers should rest abundantly satisfied when, in sincerity, they have done his work. But, oh! heartily do I desire to find in heaven monuments, through the riches of God's free grace and infinite power, of my poor weak endeavours in the family, or in this which I leave to you, my children. I should think myself far, yea, far more happy, if I can be an instrument of gaining one poor soul to God, than if I should conquer the whole earth; for a man's happiness doth not consist in those things which do last but for a time, and do often wear out before time be at an end. For where are these monuments, statues, and pillars of brass and marble, which great men of old reared up for a memory of their names? And though these were all standing, and their memories, which they so much esteemed, were yet fresh in this world, what could all that profit these famous mighty men if their souls be not in heaven? There are lasting and during things which time cannot wear away; yea, time cometh not there. My dear children, O that you and I may so obey God while we are here in time, as that he may, of his free mercy, receive us to that blessed habitation with himself for ever!

SECTION XVIII. *August* 24, 1663.

Because of that which is said in the ninth and tenth pages,[1] I will here mention, that upon Wednesday last, my sister's son, Graden, came hither and acknowledged that he had been in the wrong to me, in alleging my mismanagement of his affairs; and, in obedience to my Lord's command, I was ready, very freely and heartily, to forgive him, which I shall testify whenever I can be serviceable to him. Blessed be my God, who hath cleared up mine innocency in this, which I set down here only to vindicate the profession of religion I am under; if again he should change, he will have no weight, but will be imputed to his incontinency. The men of this world esteem their good name very dear to them; but how much more should Christians? whose smallest misbehaviours get the name of God blasphemed; but by their good works the name of their Heavenly Father is glorified. Some princes' servants will hazard their lives and all that they have, for the credit of their worm-master. O how much more should we, the servants of the almighty and infinitely glorious God! which, if we sufficiently knew, we would cry out, "Who is sufficient for these things?" and would certainly take good heed to our goings, always striving "to keep our consciences void of offence toward God and toward man:" for if one poor soul, minting after God, shall leave off its duty, falling upon the stumbling-block of a Christian's offence, it had been better for that Christian to have been casten into the depth of the sea. As he is happy who is instrumental in converting a soul unto God, how miserable is he who turneth away a soul? My God, pardon wherein ever I have offended any of the generation of the just, or have given just cause to others to speak against the way of truth, and help me in time to come to watch, and be sober. And, O Lord, wipe away the offences of thy people, which have too much abounded in these days, through

[1] See *ante*, p. 427.

their covetous and selfish ends, and want of love one to another; and for thy name's sake bring them out of the furnace (for they are now in it) as gold purified; and fit and prepare a people for thyself in the earth, "That thy will may be done here as in heaven;" and that it may appear unto the children of men that thou hast not forsaken the earth, but hast yet many gracious promises to accomplish, and more glorious appearances to show forth, than we or our fathers have yet seen. O that I and my children may be of the number of those who wait for thy salvation! and through thy mercy and power may be able to discern thy coming, and may draw in to thee our blessed Lord, as the eagles are, by natural instinct, led from far to their food: for many, who think that they are friends to thy truths, will be found resisters of that power wherein thou wilt come. And thy glorious appearance shall so dazzle the sight of many, that their show of light shall be turned into darkness. There was never a people more called to watchfulness than we in these latter days are. "The Spirit and the Bride have been saying, Come." O to have "oil in our lamps!" for our blessed Lord will now soon come. "Let him that heareth, and him that is athirst, say, Come;" and let my soul always say, "Even so, come, Lord Jesus."

SECTION XIX. *September* 3, 1663.

I am very desirous to hasten through what is past, therefore I only incline to mention shortly mine imprisonment in the Castle of Edinburgh, upon the 26th of September 1660, with Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead, with whom I had very sweet fellowship for fifteen days; which was the time we were in prison, and one of the sweetest times I have yet had: for both of us were led forth to rejoice in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, and were most willing, through his grace and strength, to forsake all for him. The Lord our God keep us ever in the same mind. Since that time of our coming out of prison I have had very much outward peace and

quietness, having no trouble upon me or my family, except only the afflictions of the people of God, with whom I ever desire to sympathise, sorrowing with those of them that sorrow, and being in bonds with them which are bound. My plenty is often a burden to me when I remember their wants; and now I know not what this peace and plenty may mean, unless that I should be laying up in store grace to help me in the time of my need, when my trial cometh, and when the waters shall arise and swell against me. O that then I may stand fast in the Lord! and may evermore, even to the end: for the crown is only to such, and they are not worthy to be his disciples who will not endure all, deny all, for him. Now I know not what is before me, nor what this nor any one day may bring forth; neither desire I to know, but to trust all to the infinite wisdom and goodness of my God, who hitherto hath helped me; and who, I hope, will never leave me to my foolish wisdom and weak strength. O to know mine insufficiency, that I may the more know the all-sufficiency of my God! Blessed be my God, whose promise I have that he will guide me by his counsel while I am here; if this were not, I would cry out, O carry me not hence! But seeing thou art with me, though I be but a worm, yet I will not fear, but will go on confidently, though I know not whither. O what a dangerous journey are the wisest of the children of men going who have not God for their guide! they may tremble every moment, and, if they fully knew their own condition, they would be as in the torments of hell until they had an interest in God. O how is this blind world rushing on to their own ruin! My dear children, hasten, hasten, hasten to leave them and their way, which leadeth to death, and look not behind you. "Remember Lot's wife;" yea, look not to the best of men in all their actions: for these are not perfect patterns; but have God always before you, striving to do that which is right in his sight, and putting your trust in him only; and then, when he calleth, you may walk on the waters and not be afraid, and you may go into a den of lions, or to a burning furnace; yea, you may go through death and judgment and not be affrighted. If these things were believed, what

would we not do or suffer in our journey? and if we knew him who is the Lord of Glory, what would we not undergo for his blessed name's sake? Oh! my children, seek a discovery of him in mercy, and follow on to know him: then shall ye be happy, and shall, with delight, confess that such a knowledge of him is too wonderful for you, and that you cannot fully attain unto it, for he is infinite. O that you may be all his redeemed ones! On the last Sabbath at Westruther it was joy to my soul to see one of you (I mean my daughter Catherine) sit down at the table of the Lord, desirous to eat and to drink in remembrance of him. The Lord God bring these desires in thee on to a perfect flame of love to him; and grant that as thou art entered into the communion of saints here, so thou mayest be with them in heaven for ever and ever.

SECTION XX. *October* 5, 1663.

My children, since the last day I wrote here, you have an aunt gone to heaven, the Lady Haining, who passed from this world on the 28th of September last. Many of your kindred, I trust, are walking in the way which leadeth to glory. I know none of your uncles or aunts, of your mother's side and mine, who have come to age, and have not broken off the way of the world, which leadeth to perdition; yea, all of them are, or have been, professors of truth and holiness: I say have been, for some of them, who shined in their generation, are now in perfection, shining before their and our God. O that we may run after them (that are gone into glory before us) with all our might; for the wrath which we flee from is terrible, and the prize which is set before us is great and glorious, and lasteth for ever. Blessed for ever be my God, who, of his rich free grace, hath so shined upon the families of Torwoodlee and Stitchel. O that you who come after, may taste of the same goodness! You are compassed about with a great cloud of witnesses, as those which are mentioned, Heb. xi., and throughout the Scrip-

tures; and all those martyrs and saints who have lived since. O let us "lay aside every weight and sin, and run with patience the race which is set before us, looking (which is the best look) unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith." We may exceed in our thoughts of angels or saints, as the man did who offered to worship the angel; but we can never think enough of God: for who can reach the end of infinite glory? O when we have wearied ourselves with adoring him, then let us begin to adore and worship him! and when strength faileth us, let us pray that he may renew our strength. O happy are they who constantly move in this circle! My children, when you have once tasted, and known the sweetness of this way, you will never desire to move one step out of it, unless ignorance come in the place of your knowledge. "Therefore, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling;" and let the joy of the Lord be your strength. This circle is not a prison, but perfect liberty; all who move not in this way of serving God, and adoring him, are and shall be shut up in utter darkness; but they that walk in this circle, though they were shut up, and bound with chains, and their feet fast in stocks, yet are they in a large place. The mind and soul enemies cannot shut up in prison. My children, I may lay out many motives before you to persuade you to walk in the way of life; but you will find all these to be but small when once you get a broad look of God himself. It is not angels, or saints, or created glory, that is our heaven; but God alone is our heaven, our happiness, and our all. When at any time our souls are raised up to think on what is above, where blessed He is, let us again come down with delight to do his will here in the world, patiently waiting for his good pleasure, without which nothing can befall us. Oh! then why should we be moved to fear what can come! O to be freed from sin! I have now no more time to write.

SECTION XXI. *December* 3, 1663.

Upon Saturday gone eight days, my children, another of your aunts passed away from this life, viz., my sister Craigie. She expressed unto me her assurance of mercy and salvation through Jesus Christ, so that we have one friend more in heaven. I am not troubled at the death of my relations that die in the Lord; yea, I esteem it more worth to me to have them in heaven than in this world: for that is the place where we should "lay up treasures for ourselves, where moth and rust do not enter;" but when we think of our treasures in heaven, we should again think, "Whom have we there but God; or whom should we desire on earth beside him?" He that said this, found no need of saints in heaven to intercede for him. "We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, the righteous," who telleth believers that the Father himself loveth them, from whom we may ask in his name; and to assure us the more, he saith, "And I say unto you, that I will pray the Father for you." They know not the Father's love and jealousy who make use of the intercession of angels or saints. My children, seek God in earnest, and you shall know this and all needful truths. O how necessary is this knowledge in these days, when many are saying, "Lo, here is Christ, and lo, there!" Be the more diligent, and fear, because "strait is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." Yet such a way it is, as that the wayfaring ones, though fools, err not in it: for sure is the covenant which is made with believers; they have the word and oath of him who is truth itself. Rest not until you get this to lean unto. Oh! I cannot be so useful unto you, my dear children, as to press you to this; and when my God doth help me so to do, either by this mean or by praying for you, then have I a good measure of peace in mine own mind. This maketh me think assuredly that God doth allow me, in this small work, of leaving this under mine hand unto you: for when I have done any part of it, though never so weakly, yet I have joy and

rest in my heart, which is the more heightened when I wish to hope that all, or some of you, may come to profit by it. Another encouragement to this way is, when I think how many precious ones, upon their death-beds, get few or no words spoken to their children, or to those about them, for pain and other hinderances. So that it is good to "work while it is to-day: for the night cometh, wherein none can work." Yea, that night may come before we go out of this world, sometimes by distempers upon our body or spirits. Thus desire I to make ready for what the will, the good will, of my God shall be towards me; that when the hour of death cometh, I may have nothing to do but die. I desire to lay very little stress upon that last moment. How ignorant was that man who desired to die the death of the righteous? My children, live this holy life, and you shall assuredly be led through the valley and shadow of death.

SECTION XXII. *December* 25, 1663.

Since what I last said, I met with another encouragement to this duty of writing to you, my children, viz., an honest friend showed me a very Christian letter, written by her husband, now deceased, to her, which she doth intend to keep for their son and only child, who is not as yet three months old, thinking that he may lay to heart the father's words, whom he did never see in the face; and how much more, my children, should you mind what I say? seeing it is expressly to you that I am led (I trust by the Spirit of my God) to write, though in great weakness upon my part. But blessed be my God, who perfecteth strength in weakness; so that in a manner it is all one whether a man be weak or strong in himself, seeing God can, and often doth, make the weak words of a weak man to be more powerful than those of the wise and prudent, though honest as well as the other: for God, who freely giveth, doth bestow the blessing according to the measure of faith. That is our Lord's commendation, "O woman, great is

thy faith!" and the answer is, "Be it unto thee even as thou wilt;" but strong Peter, when he began to doubt, began to sink. The promise is, "That whatsoever we ask believing, we shall receive it;" and now, O that my faith were increased, not only for myself and for the work and people of God, which is now low in men's account, but also for you, my children, that I were oftener praying and believing for you. It is true you must say for yourselves, I believe in God: that is, every one of you must be saved by your own faith; yet it is my duty to be laying up a stock of prayers for you, and when I ask, it ought to be in faith, not wavering; and so much the more earnest should I be in your behalf, as I know not to what darkness of ignorance I may leave you: for, Oh! where will this backsliding generation stop? who are now returning to these abominations which they formerly vomited up; as witness their keeping, or rather profaning, of this Christmas-day, against which observation of holydays, as they call them, much is written and said by able and pious men; and I have enough to satisfy myself, but shall say nothing here but this, that any who will observe shall find, that they who are most earnest in observing these things, for which they have no express command from God, are least careful in keeping what is commanded. My children, the darker the time be wherein you live, the more diligently seek in unto him who is the light of the world; he is the life and the light of men. If you come unto him, he will in no ways put you away, but will love and receive you more tenderly than I or all the fathers and mothers in this world can do. The greatest pleasure you can do him is to go unto him, and to put all your wants over upon him, yea, even sins also. Happy is he or she who lay their sins upon Christ Jesus, and take his cross upon them; they shall soon come up "from the wilderness leaning upon their beloved." He bare his cross alone, but so cannot we: for he knoweth our weakness, and is ever with us, yea, even when he seemeth to hide his face. O who can express the love of Christ! We may taste of it, and the more we taste the more sweetness shall we find; and know that angels and men cannot express the riches of that love

which shall be admired to all eternity. Oh! what is the world doing, or rather, what are they whom God calleth out of the world doing, and what am I, who am writing this, doing, that I am not, with all my might, seeking to have my heart filled with this love? Now God, who hath given to you, my children, and to me, hearts as so many vessels, first empty them of all vanities, and then fill them with his love.

SECTION XXIII. *January* 30, 1664.

Whenever I begin, I am in pain what to say, until I commit mind and pen unto God, the Father of Spirits, "Who giveth subtilty to the simple, and to the young man knowledge and discretion;" but as straitened in the beginning, I am sometimes so enlarged before I end, that I know not how to end. And how can it be otherwise, since it is my work to speak of God, of whom the more I think (and thoughts are far vaster than words) the more matter find I of thinking? My children, soon may you come to the end of all created things if you sit down and think; your thoughts may easily pass through the inhabited and uninhabited parts of the earth, and through the seas, and up through the firmament, and whole created heavens; also, you may think on all that move within these; but at last the vast mind must stop when it thinketh on Him who is infinite. When in our thoughts we come to the uttermost circle of the creation, can we then put out the finger, or can tell what is without? O! it becometh the learnedest and the wisest of men to profess their ignorance, and, with Moses, make haste to worship. As also, we may trace up time to the beginning, and we may think that before that, there were neither angels nor men, nor a created world; but only that blessed Being which gave being to all things, who only is without beginning; in that consideration, can our thoughts reach unto him? They who have any stamp of the infinite God upon their minds, will find no need of images to help them to worship him, who hath formed our

minds to have an otherwise idea of him than the works of men's hands can represent. Our minds can go farther than either tongue or hands, or any of the rest of the members. The way to worship him is to "worship in spirit and truth," as he hath commanded. What folly is it to go beyond his command? My children, beware of any such things; do what is commanded, and you shall find no need of more. Spend much of your time in thinking on God. The more you do so, the more shall you desire so to do; and that which at first will be a little painful, shall at length become more pleasant unto you than can be expressed. I assure you this is true; blessed be my God, I have felt it many a time; and yet so foolish am I, as often to wander from my rest and happiness. My children, will you not be certain of these truths when you come to possess them? O taste and know that God is good! There is no other way for me to advise you to be happy; and, Oh! how fain would I have you happy! Let your vast thoughts run through all, and you shall never find true joy and peace until you come to God, in and through Jesus Christ. Press through the many hinderances which are in your way, and delay not a moment's time: for when once you have got near God, if then you can lament, it shall be for the moments you have spent without him. O what shall I render to my God for showing me these things in any measure! I will even praise his name for ever and ever, and cite all of you so to do, and all that is in heaven above, and in this earth below, and in the seas, to sing forth his praises for evermore: for that he is only truly good, I leave it to you, my children, subscribed by your father.

(*Sic subscrib.*) WA. PRINGLE.

SECTION XXIV. *March* 19, 1664.

Upon Monday gone eight days, at three in the afternoon, at this place, my truly worthy sister of Eccles passed from her earthly dwelling to her place, which our blessed Lord went long since to prepare in heaven. She took her sickness upon the 15th day of

March 1663, (the day my son Walter was baptized,) and was very near a year under sickness and extreme pain, which, to the admiration of all about her, she endured most patiently, often in the time of her most violent pain, praying her God and Father not to take off her the least grain weight of what was his will to lay on. More Christian expressions I never heard from any than from her, in the whole time of her sickness: all which time, except some exercise upon her mind for one day or two in the beginning, she had never the least doubt of her interest in God; but expressed her full assurance of his mercy and love to her through Jesus Christ. These several years past, she hath lived a stranger in this earth, separated from this world and the things in it. She had a great love to her son Alexander; the only reason I knew was the assurance which she had of his dying in the Lord. In her sickness she took her son John's engagement to seek to become the Lord's, telling him, that unless he were his he should be none of hers. I knew none who had more true love to the people of God than she had; and now faith and hope are ceased, but that remaineth perfected. O that excellent grace of love to God! where it is, it must descend to those whom he begetteth. Verily, this is all we have to seek: for all other graces follow it, as so many wheels, moving swiftly and pleasantly. "They that love him will keep his commandments;" and they will not find them grievous, but as their meat and their drink. Hath not this love made many of his sing in the fires, and in the greatest torments which cruel enemies could invent? Oh! it is not in the power of devils or men to make that soul, which hath this precious treasure, unhappy! but for one moment of time we may, by suffering it to lie as dead under ashes, be strangers to our own happiness; but when God is pleased to shed it abroad in the heart, O how pleasant is that flame! There is wearying in all things else, but the soul that findeth itself filled with, and within the love of God, will assuredly desire to abide there for ever and ever, knowing that therein alone is their happiness. My dear children, what way shall I prove to you the truth of this? But I entreat you to inquire

of those who in themselves have felt it; and if any of you be so blinded as to think that they speak from interest, then go to dying men and women, when they are stepping into eternity, and inquire of them if they think any happy but those who are within the loving-kindness of God. Every one that hath lived at a distance from God doth change their thoughts when they see death near them. But Oh! my children, put not off till that time come upon you, lest you suffer for your folly for ever and ever. But if these two witnesses prove not this excellent truth to you, can there be a surer way than for you to try it yourselves? as when a private man hath news brought him that a people hath chosen him to be their king, is he not certain of the truth thereof when he goeth and sitteth down upon his throne, by the hearty consent of all the people? More certain shall you be when, in yourselves, you prove this truth.

SECTION XXV. *October* 3, 1664.

I was summoned to compear before the High Commission Court, the 19th day of July last, for declaring that I could not own Mr James Straiton for my minister, nor conjoin in prayers read by the reader, nor in singing the conclusion which is now brought in. My reasons I need not here insert. I made my compearance before that court upon the 21st of July last, and got their sentence, as I have it under the clerk's hand, of the same date. I went in to the Bishop of Edinburgh upon the 8th of September last, but could not take the oath as he tendered it, viz., without any explanation but the words as they stand. This much he expressed to me, that supremacy and allegiance should always go together. And when I alleged the Parliament's explanation of that oath, he answered, that there was no such thing in record, and that the Bishops were not then sitting in Parliament. Also, at the High Commission, it was said to me by the Primate, who did preside, that it was true that Christ is Head of the Church, but it could not be expected

that he should exercise that office here in the world; and to whom did it so properly belong to do it as to the King? This oath is to be found in 1st and 11th Acts of the first Parliament of King Charles II. Here I am interrupted.

SECTION XXVI. *October* 4, 1664.

After I got my summons, and before compearance, (having left the company I was with upon the Winistraw-Law,) for a quarter of an hour, I was earnest with God in prayer that he would so guide me, a worm, in the business, as that his name might be glorified, his people edified, and mine own soul bettered. After prayer, I resolved to take the verse in my Bible, which by Providence cast first up to me, which is a way I rarely use to take; and blessed be my God who so favoured me as to send me that word, 1 John v. 15, "And if we know that he hear us, whatsoever we ask, we know that we have the petitions that we desired of him." By this I was much strengthened to put my trust in him who never leaveth his in the time of need, and who, I know, will increase my strength if troubles shall be increased; so that it is all one whether the waters be ebb or deep, seeing the head is ever borne up. Oh! everlasting arms are underneath all those that suffer for him. He never sendeth any a wayfaring upon their own charges, of which number I am now bold to reckon myself, though most unworthy. I shall not here insert the reasons against that oath, since the most part of the Lord's people in this land are so clear against it; yea, many have already grounded their sufferings upon the refusing of it who yet are most free to give allegiance to the King; but the oath, as it stands, I know shall appear every day more and more unjust, and against the prerogatives of our Lord and King, whose skirt of his robe, I bless God, I have not put forth my hand to cut off, now when any who pleaseth may do it; but it will not always be so, for he will come forth conquering and to conquer. Oh! how shall his enemies be then ashamed

when in their hands shall be found, with reverence may I say it, pieces of Christ's glory! Oh! that patience may have its perfect work in all the saints! Now for myself, although I am a sufferer, and may be a loser for the time, for the last High Commission day I was ordered to be summoned, upon fifteen days, to pay the fine, yet I know all the arithmeticians in the world shall not be able to number my gains. Their skill reacheth but the finite things. The wisdom of this world judgeth that in this I am not so careful of you, my children, as I should. God is my witness how dearly I love you, and how careful I have been to provide for you even the things of this world, far less foolishly to put away what my father left unto me, which is now by God's blessing bettered. I need not here insert how much, since I judge it best to quit it, when my Lord calleth for it untold. In these cases, the left hand should not know what the right doth. I cannot reckon how oft I have held up my hand before God, and promised to be always ready to forsake all for him. Somewhat of this you may find, pages 15 and 20.[1] When you know what a worthy one he is which cannot be known, then shall you find this to be true wisdom, and that losing of the life for him is gaining of it. My children, suspend your thoughts of me in this business until you be enlightened from above, or else till death come, then I know I shall be approven of you.

Man's approbation is to me a very small business, only I fain would have you consenting to every parcel of truth, the least of which is worth a thousand worlds which pass away; but truth remaineth for ever: blessed are they who sell their all to buy it. Many times it hath been my prayer, that whenever I should suffer (for now I have been long without a cross) it might be for righteousness' sake. Blessed be my God who hath heard me; for though as yet I can scarce give my confinement, or what is yet upon me, the name of suffering, yet I know that in his account it is a filling up of what is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh. Oh!

[1] See *ante*, pp. 434, 439.

I rejoice that I have flesh to do this. And now, O blessed God, who makest thy strength perfect in weakness, and who hitherto hast helped me, carry me through even to the end, and as the furnace groweth hotter, strengthen me to endure it; and never leave me nor forsake me in it, nor yet in prosperity. I look to be left of my dearest friends, yea, even it may be of thy people and of the wife in my bosom. In all this I heartily submit unto thee, holy Father; but blessed be thou who callest me not to submit to be left of thee. I look not always to have the sense and feeling of thy presence with me. Come and go as pleaseth thee. Only cause me to believe when I see not, and when my finger is not in the print of the nails, nor my hand in thy blessed side. By my unbelief I cannot glorify thee, but by faith I can. Oh! I bless and praise thy infinite wisdom and goodness for thus ordering it.

SECTION XXVII. *December* 5, 1664.

Upon Thursday, the 24th of November last, I was taken from this place by three of the Life-Guard, (the fourth had fallen sick at Whitburn,) and a messenger-of-arms, that night to Channelkirk,[1] and upon the morrow into the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, where I thought to have stayed some time, and to have written to you, my children, while there a prisoner of Jesus Christ; but I had no opportunity of doing this the little time I was there, being so thronged with visits. Upon the Thursday thereafter, this second High Commission (without any application from me to them, or appearance before them) passed sentence upon me, to find bond to enter to the magistrates of Elgin in Murray upon or before the first of January next, and to abide within the burgh and bounds of the said town during the King's pleasure; and if the fine imposed by the first High Commission be not paid at Candlemas

[1] Originally printed *Ginglekirk*.

next, I am then to enter within the Tolbooth of the said burgh. I know not if this new Commission could, without new citation, meddle with the affairs of the last, whose commission is worn out. I had more friends this time than before; but the Bishops carry all in that court as they please. Yet my heavenly Father giveth me the cup, therefore desire I most cheerfully to drink it. Blessed for evermore be my Lord Jesus, who drank another sort of a cup for me. My greatest desire in this world is, that he may be glorified by my bonds and sufferings, and that his people may be strengthened: and that some here, and in the place I go to, who are yet far off, may be brought near to God. Blessed be He who can make any mean effectual. I am confident, through the goodness of my God, that not only myself, but others also, shall be much bettered by my sufferings. Thus shall the design of enemies be frustrated. Oh! he is wise who ruleth heaven and earth, and maketh all things to work for his own glory and the good of his people. Praise, praise be to him who hath twisted these two together, so as devils and men cannot separate them. Enemies, in a manner, would come better speed if they sat idle than by working.

I shall only mention a remarkable passage which God in his Providence trysted me with during my confinement here at home. Upon Saturday, the 22d of October last, I was in the fields from three in the afternoon till six, but got little, until coming home in the quiet of the evening, thinking what might become of my wife and children, I was led to this comparison of a king sending one of his servants into a hazardous piece of service; and if the king should say to that servant, Be not troubled for your wife and children, for I will take these into my care, then that servant needed not be anxious for them; and far less should I, the servant of the King of kings, the God of truth, who can and will perform his word. Upon this I was made to give up my wife and children unto God, with full assurance that he would care for them. It had been my duty never to have doubted of this, though no other confirmation had been given me; but blessed be He who,

knowing my very great weakness, sent this servant, Mr Edward Jamieson, upon the Tuesday thereafter, who in his exhortation to the family had the very same comparison to the full, although I had not then made it known to any in this world. And now what need I fear the loss of my two fines, or of all I have in this world, since the great and mighty One hath taken you off my hands! Oh! that you, my children, when you come to age, may give away yourselves to him: you are lost for ever if you do it not. When you come to any knowledge, "Use all diligence to make your calling and election sure." It is great matter of joy to me that, in letters from my daughter, I have under her hand breathings after God, "who will not quench her smoking flax, nor break her bruised reed." God give her grace to hold on her way, and so wax stronger and stronger. Oh! to have you all in the way that leadeth to glory and rest! Praise, praise be to him who can bring you unto it, and lead you in it!

SECTION XXVIII. *January* 7, 1665.

Upon the 22d day of the last month, I went from this with a purpose to go to Elgin; but before I reached Edinburgh, my brother Torwoodlee gave in a petition in my name to the Lords of Council, who granted me to the last of this month, recommending to the High Commission to grant me a longer time. Although I seem to be at men's disposal, yet blessed be He in whose hands I am, to whom this morning I have renewed my vow, upon the reading of the 12th verse of the 5th of the Revelation, with this thought, that I need never fear to follow through the thickest temptations, troubles, and enemies, such a General, whose is power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing. Soldiers will courageously go on, and scorn dangers when they have a wise, valiant captain before them. But knowing mine own infirmities and weakness, my engagement is only in these terms, and blessed be He who knoweth my frame, and allow-

eth it so, that he, without whom I can do nothing, giving me light, strength, and grace, then shall I walk in the way of his obedience, and never flee from his banner. My ordinary this morning was from the 9th verse of this 5th chapter to the end. I think it is a strange way of reckoning our blessed Lord worthy, who was so from all eternity, for that he was slain, and hath redeemed us. Oh! blessed be thou, O God and Father, who out of the wonderful riches of thy infinite free love accountest the redemption of sinners such a great work. Now, I desire to wear that crown which thou wilt give unto me, (the least of thine, and chief of sinners,) for that end that I may throw it down at thy footstool, and ascribe unto thee, who sittest upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, blessing, honour, glory, and power, for ever and ever. Amen.

SECTION XXIX. *Elgin Tolbooth, March* 22, 1665.

Upon the 10th day of January, I attended upon the sitting of the High Commission, who did not then sit, but adjourned unto the 24th of January, at which time I came again to Edinburgh with an intention to come on my journey, but the High Commission gave a continuation of my entry to this place to the 10th of this month. These delays were obtained upon the account of my wife being big with child, who, through the goodness of God, was safely delivered, January 30, of a daughter, to whom we gave the name of Anne before baptism, which I delayed in regard I could not get it done in such a cleanly way as was desired. My child, so soon as thou art come into this world, thou art a sufferer: not as an evil-doer, blessed be God. Oh! that he may give thee inward grace, even though the outward seal should not be obtained. Praise be to him who doth not keep out, nor cast out when men do. He is against the shepherds who feed not the flock. He himself "will seek out his flock, and save them," (Ezek. xxxiv.) My God, hasten to do so for thy glory's sake! February 23,

our ordinary reading in the family in the morning was Psalm lv. I thought to have done no more in the family myself, for I expected Mr Edward Jamieson, who was detained until the time of our exercise was past; so it did lie upon me, some Christian friends being with us, to sing Psalm vii. from the 9th verse to the end, and to read the 11th chapter of Ezekiel. This I mention, that I may hold on our ordinary if ever the Lord shall bring me back to them again, as also that it may appear how well our ordinary was trysted with our present condition; for I believe that if the ablest of men had known our state, and set themselves to write suitably to it, they could not have sent us words so pertinent, as are especially the 16th, 17th, &c. verses of Ezekiel, chap. xi. Lord open the eyes of those who would equal what they now write unto the Scriptures of truth, upon which my soul desireth to feed as upon green pastures, finding thyself in them, for the letter profiteth not. Upon the 24th of February, I came from Greenknow, and left my aged mother, my dear wife and children, friends and family, and all, for his sake; for whom it is nothing to be killed all the day long when he enlighteneth and strengtheneth the poor soul. "For his sake" came often in my mind when the stormy weather was sharp on my face: for I had sore weather betwixt Aberdeen and this, such as useth not to be in March. But, O! what is all this when compared with what is recorded of the saints in former times? I must cut short, for in this prison I have not a place alone, except an upper room which I may retire to, but cannot write. I entered in here upon the 10th day of this month. My prayer is, that I may not go out until my God carry me out without sin. Oh! that he may keep me faithful unto death; and as my ordinary is this morning, Gen. xvii. to the 9th verse, "May be my God, and the God of my seed after me." Even so be it.

SECTION XXX. *Elgin, July* 5, 1665.

Blessed be my God, whom I desire to serve with my outward and inner man, who, in a cleanly way, brought me out of the Tolbooth sooner than I expected, and that in the very nick of a little piece of extremity: for upon the 6th of April, a prisoner was put in beside me, whom the magistrates resolved to keep very strictly; therefore, we were closed within the room, where we did lie all that night; although I knew not how long I might be in that condition, yet I bless God I had never more peace in my mind: for even in the night-time, when I could not sleep because of noisome smell, I was refreshed in my spirit with remembrance that it was for his name's sake. Upon the morrow, the town-council met, and without any desire from me, passed an act that I should be removed to a chamber of the house out of which I had my diet; and, accordingly, the provost and bailies came and brought me alongst. Thus did my Lord give me favour in the eyes of those among whom I am cast. In the Tolbooth, I could not worship, except in the spirit only, which I know is most acceptable to God, when further liberty is denied; but in my new prison I might be alone when I pleased; my only disadvantage was, that it was not so well aired as the former, which I think occasioned very sore eyes to me, so that I was wholly disabled from reading and writing, and had sometimes thoughts that I might come wholly to lose my bodily sight, which had been but little to lose in his service, who is my Lord and Master, the King of kings. I made it my prayer, with submission to his holy will, that he would continue to me that rich temporal mercy of sight. After which time (blessed be God, the hearer of prayers) mine eyes became daily better, only yet they grow worse when I read or write much, which is the cause why I have here written so little to you, my children; yet nothing I have said, or can say, will prevail with you to lay hold on eternal life without God's blessing. The consideration whereof

may stir me up to pray more for you, though I should write less; but I desire both may go together.

Upon the 10th of May I was liberated from close prison by an order of the Lords of Secret Council, which was brought to me by my nephew, Walter, giving me the bounds of a mile about this town, during their pleasure. This was obtained by Stitchel and the Laird of Haining, far beyond their own and others' expectation. By the will of God I have got this half freedom; and whenever it shall be his good will to take it from me again, I desire to be fully content. Oh! Most High, I am at thy disposal, to do with me, and make of me, whatsoever thou wilt; let me never repine. My dear children, these are words but for myself; but so soon as you shall receive the Spirit of truth, then shall you, from time to time, be taught right words. O that you may receive the Lord Jesus! then shall you with him freely get all things. The infinite God is more than all things, and he is the portion of his people. O how is the world blinded in esteeming them an oppressed, sighing, poor, and needy people! whereas their worst things are much better than the world's best; and even that which maketh the ignorant count them miserable is their greatest happiness within time, viz., The cross of Jesus Christ: for what is more desirable and profitable than to be made conformable unto him in his sufferings and death? O that I may become more and more familiar to his sweet, sweet cross! Blessed be He who hath allured me in under it, even when I was shunning it. Now I may acknowledge, that it is light, easy, and pleasant, although my separation from my dear wife, and you, my children, is as cutting off the head from the body; yet such killing is delightsome to me for his sake, who giveth me now and then many a sweet moment. This may well serve while [until] eternity come, and I enter in where moments cannot be counted. My dear children, with all your might and speed hasten to serve my blessed Lord. In all the world you shall not find so good a master, nor yet such rich rewards as he giveth to his, whom he is pleased to "call friends, and not servants;" yea, hereafter they shall be somewhat more than sons, (1 John iii. 2.)

SECTION XXXI. *July* 20, 1665.

When I think upon that commanded duty, Deut. vi. 7, and elsewhere through[out] the Word, and that now I am denied the liberty of conversing with you, my children, I am the more earnest to exhort you by writing, to choose God for your portion. None but he alone can help you in the time of your greatest need; neither can any other lead you safely through this dangerous wilderness of a world. The many thousands of Israel would have perished in the desert, if they had not had his cloud before them "in the day-time, and pillar of fire in the night." If the joint might and wisdom of all these could not save them, how much less can any single person be safe?—especially in these latter days, wherein the devil is raging, knowing that his time is but short. "Verily now it is, that the righteous scarcely are saved." In part I was witness to the truth of this, upon the 29th of June last, in the death of an eminent professor, which I will not particularly mention. Oh! my dear children, "Give diligence to make your calling and election sure." If you ask me what you should do that "you may inherit eternal life," I desire you to go to the Lord Jesus Christ. But, Oh! come not from him sorrowful, when he telleth you to quit your vain sinful pleasures and momentary delights. If you be his, you must crucify these. O forsake all for him! and then go on with him in your company rejoicing, as the Ethiopian, (Acts viii. 39.) I your father, and to use the Apostle's words, "prisoner of the Lord," beseech you to lay hold on what is freely offered to you in the gospel; nothing less than Jesus Christ, and with him all things. This would be my desire to you if these were my last words, as I know not but they may. Truly I find most peace in my mind when I am fully content, if so the will of God be, to lay down my body in the grave here, though separate from all my relations. Whom had Moses with him when his life went from his body? Yet I had never more free-

dom than now to desire with submission a while's lengthening of my days: for I know that shall be for my good, the longer I bear the cross of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. For me now to seek to enter into my rest, when the Lord Jesus is in the camp with his little troop, against his many enemies, is as if a soldier should seek a pass to go to his own peaceable habitation, and leave his king and general in the fields, in the heat of war. When at night I lie down in my solitary bed, it is refreshing to me to think I am in my Lord's leagure; but I dare not boast, for I have not yet put off mine armour: and though I should endure, as a good soldier, even to the end, yet I should have no cause of glorying, except in the Lord, by whose strength only I shall be able to stand, and overcome to the end. If I were not assured of his presence with me, I would even give over, and say, O let me not go one step hence, unless thou go with me; my weakness is such, and the difficulties in the way so many, that angels are not sufficient guides for me. The Holy Spirit of Truth, which leadeth unto all truth, is the guide I desire to walk with and follow. O that you, my children, may be led by this blessed Spirit! then shall we arrive at one and the same glorious habitation.

SECTION XXXII. *July* 31, 1665.

My children, it would be one of the greatest pleasures temporary for me to enjoy your company. To live with you and your mother, though it were in the meanest condition, would certainly be my choice, if I had not given away my will unto God, desirous never to make any choice for myself, knowing that is most unsafe so to do: for the wisest of men, thinking to establish themselves, have made choice of that which hath proved their ruin; and, on the contrary, the poor and simple, who have been careful for nothing, but have made their necessities known unto God by prayer, with thanksgiving. O how well those have been helped against all their enemies, and securely led through all the difficul-

ties of a world! They have the word of a King, even of the God of truth, who cannot lie, engaging his infinite wisdom, power, and goodness, to be "with them, and for them." "Blessed is the people, and the person, whose God is the Lord." O! it is better to be even in the hottest furnace of affliction when he is present, than to be sitting upon the most flourishing throne in this earth when he is absent. Blessed be my God, who often raiseth me up to that true knowledge of things, as that I would not change my cross with a crown, no, not the present sweetness of the cross, with the present delights of a crown, which hath not so much as a true being: for none of the senses are fully satisfied by it, and though they were, yet were it but for a moment; but this cross is a seed which bringeth forth an exceeding and eternal weight of glory. My dear children, sow not to the flesh but to the Spirit, that of the Spirit you may reap life everlasting. Be not so madly foolish as to think you may pass away your youthhood in following the vain lusts and pleasures of the flesh, and thereafter turn unto God. It is true, he hath been pleased to accept of some after the wanderings of their youth, and I may acknowledge myself to be one of those, to the praise of his rich free grace; but for any, because of this, to be encouraged to go on in their wicked ways, is as if one would commit those crimes which deserve death, and so be brought to the place of execution, not fearing, because some being past over, have broken the cord, and then have gotten the king's mercy; but no comparison can hold forth the loss and hazard of those who lose their immortal souls: this may be better thought on than can be expressed. My children, the consideration of your own hazard may be a mean to make you flee into a Saviour. But Oh! when you come to know him, who is the chief of all the thousands in heaven and earth, then you would not quit his service, even though there were not a reward for the righteous. To stand as a servant before him in this lower world, and to go through the hardest pieces of service for him, is in itself a very rich reward. This testimony of him, and of his ways, I desire to leave in record to you, my children, with this confession, that I cannot express the

thousandth part of that worth which is in him, "who is altogether lovely." O how gladly would I have you all happy in him! I know assuredly that you can be so nowhere else. This yourselves may know, if you will be at leisure to search it out. Oh! "Be still, and know that He is God," and the only fountain of all good. Go unto him, and abide with him, I assure you he will never put you away; you know not what evils may be in your time. O make sure your interest in him! then shall you safely ride out the greatest storm that can arise, then your anchor is "within the vail." This is the only thing I press you with, since nothing beside this is necessary. Now I will go pray for you, and for the work and people of my God:-for which I desire to spend this day. Oh! that, according to my ordinary this morning, (Deut. xxvi. 17, 18, 19,) you, my children, "May avouch the Lord to be your God, and that he may avouch you to be of the number of his peculiar people."

SECTION XXXIII. *August* 31, 1665.

For the space of some weeks past, I have been entertained with the expectation of liberty to go home, which, though it would be matter of very much joy to me, yet it hath been my constant desire that it might not succeed, unless it were the good will of my God: for Oh! how unsafe it is for me to have, or to follow, a will of mine own. I have ground to believe that he hath heard me in this, and that it is for my best, although a little grievous to my carnal mind, the continuation of my bonds, separation from wife, children, and others, not knowing for how long. But blessed be He, who hath my time in his hand! O that I may never limit him, and may never give over trusting in him! then shall not my expectation fail for ever. Six days together, I was assured by several that my liberty was granted; but upon Saturday last, I got letters from my friends showing the contrary, to their great disappointment. In the time wherein I had thoughts of going

home some of these days, my ordinary was Judges vii., and my prayer was, that my going might not be as the going of those mentioned in the third verse, or in the end of the seventh verse: how much ashamed would these be when Gideon and the three hundred returned with great victory? Certainly they had but little pleasure in their homes. O how much greater shall my victory and prize be, if I be kept faithful, and endure to the end, even unto death! then shall it not repent me that I have been here a stranger, with many a sad and heavy heart, when I see others in the evenings return from their labours to their own homes, and I to my solitary chamber; and when I hear the children of others weep, and think that mine may not only be weeping, but groaning in sickness; yea, it may be breathing out their last, and I not seeing them: as also, when I think that my aged mother may be passing hence, and I, her only child now remaining, not with her to perform my last duty to her; it hath been my prayer to God, with submission to his holy will, that he may be pleased to allow me this privilege. However he dispose, I have good ground to believe that he will assuredly "make all work for my good," although I should not any more see my dear wife and children in this life; yet I am persuaded, that he whom I serve can easily make up that great loss to me; yea, I know that the enjoyment of them, with all other earthly blessings, might be far worse to me than the loss of them is. How soon may all these gourds wither, and anger come in the place of exceeding gladness, as it was with Jonah? There may be some pleasure for the time in building upon sand; but grief and sorrow cometh when the winds and storms arise, and [the] building falleth. O that in this stormy hour of trial it may appear that I have not been building upon sand, but upon the Rock of ages! When I look to myself, and consider the failings of others, which, alas! with much sorrow I hear of, then have I great ground to fear; but when I lift up mine eyes to my God, and think on his excellent loving-kindness, and wonderful goodness, who hitherto hath helped me; then have I no cause to doubt for the time to come. Blessed be He who can easily subdue all the

enemies which are in my way to heaven. When the waters are like to go over mine head, then will he give me wings with which I may mount up. I have nothing to fear but sin and unbelief, the greatest of sins. O that henceforth I may live that life "which is by faith in the Son of God!" My dear children, press with all your might to live this life of faith, that your end may be eternal glory. O how cheerfully would I endure this little separation from you, if I had assurance to have you all with me for ever in heaven! Oh! I cannot think, without great grief, of wanting one of you there. Many prayers are put up for you, and I hope I have ground to believe they are heard, through the riches of God's free grace. O set to, and "work out your own salvation" in the strength of the Lord! I desire to spend the rest of this day in prayer, as many others, I hope, are doing.

SECTION XXXIV. *September* 16, 1665.

The expectation of gain maketh the labouring man rise timely in the morning, that he may go about his toilsome work. This thought made me rise out of my bed this morning, desiring to employ my little pains in those things which perish not. And O! what profit and advantage were it, if by anything I insert here, I could do any good to the immortal souls of you, my dear children! You are often in my thoughts, and the matter of my prayers: for the more I am separate from you here, the more pressing and fervent my desires are to have you with me for ever in my Father's kingdom; into which, when once I am entered, I cannot come back to inform you of these everlasting joys and pleasures: God alloweth of no such mean. Therefore, while yet in this world, desire I to leave this as my last will to you. O flee from the wrath and condemnation of the great and dreadful God, with more speed and diligence than if thousands of most cruel enemies were pursuing you with drawn swords at your heels. There is a possibility of escaping from men, and their strokes are but of short

endurance; but you may see in the 139th Psalm, that "there is no hiding or escaping from the Almighty," neither is there any delivery for those who are once shut down into that bottomless pit of utter darkness; but these wretches must there endure unspeakable torment in everlasting flames, burning without the least comfort of light. "O! who can dwell with devouring fire," in that place where all sorrows, sickness, filthiness, and pains, will be confined? Among all these thousands of devils and damned souls, there will not be the least grain weight of pity one toward another. Serious thoughts of hell are certainly a strong motive to move a soul to come into Jesus Christ; but I verily believe that a view of God's excellent, wonderful, and free loving-kindness, is a far more prevailing motive. O how strong are these cords of love! None but they that feel them know, and what they know is only this, that they who are once tied in them, and drawn with them, can never break or come out of them. O sweet and pleasant chains! It is only true liberty to be in them; it is true health to be sick of love to this lovely one. What a delightful thing is it to "sit or stand under his banner of love!" It is our heaven here, and it is the heaven of angels and saints above; who have no other, will never desire any other, food but this his love, which had no beginning, and never will have any end. The soul which once getteth a true taste of it will ever desire more of it. We cannot send up so useful a petition as to pray that this love may be shed abroad in our hearts, and it were our wisdom often every hour to repeat this desire in our thoughts, when we may not conveniently utter it with our lips. This jewel is, so to speak, the first mover of all other graces; and it will shine in heaven when they shall cease. This maketh the sojourning saints endure and cheerfully suffer all things, finding the sharpest afflictions and heaviest crosses easy and light. My children, God, who only knoweth the heart, knoweth how earnest I am to have you live this excellent life of faith in Jesus Christ, which worketh by love. It is as a fire in my bosom, the desire I have to have you fully persuaded of these truths, which I both know and feel. There is

none in the world whose happiness I desire more than yours, who are to me dear as mine own soul. I shall not give over to pray for you so long as I am in this life.

SECTION XXXV. *September* 28, 1665.

Volumes cannot contain what may be said of the love of God: though the whole world were full of reams of clean paper, and all that live in it had every one the "pens of ready writers," yet all could not fully express his excellencies who "is love," (1 John iv. 8.) All are saying, "Who will show us any good?" But, alas! few seek it where alone it is to be had, even in him. "To love him with all the soul, heart, and mind"—O what joy and peace it bringeth! They who knew no better did place their happiness in having a friend whom they might trust and love as themselves, to whom they might impart all their joys and griefs, knowing well that, by a true sympathy, which is a pleasant harmony, they would take and bear their friend's pressures as their own. Such have met as vessels full, ready to burst, for want of a vent; but when they have unbosomed themselves to others, have felt a present ease; or as one travelling under a heavy burden, meeting with another who taketh the half from him, he then doth walk easily under the remainder. Many rules are given how to make choice of such a friend, all which may readily fail: for even in former times, and far more may this be now, when love and truth are so exceedingly decayed, that an oath is not so much as half a promise was before. David was deceived by his familiar friend in whom he trusted, and yet he had wisdom to choose. My children, I will show you a more excellent way than to place your confidence in man, even in God, the Rock of ages. O trust in him evermore, and assuredly he will never fail you! This advice I desire to give you, that when any of you is surprised with joy, sorrow, anger, or any of these passions of the mind, you may then abstain from speaking to any creature, until first in secret you pour out your heart to God, and

vent your mind unto him. How many, in these passionate fits, have spoken and done that of which they have repented all their time? We have need to watch over ourselves, even while in our best wits; but how much more when we are out of ourselves, being transported with any of these passions. As there is great hazard at these times to vent to creatures, so, on the contrary, there is safety, and it is the fittest time for one to go in secret to God: for then is the soul most awakened, and the heart easiliest poured out, lying as wax melted and soft before his seal. And Oh! how safe is it not to come away until he hath set upon the soul his firm stamp and impression! This bringeth peace to the mind, maketh the countenance to shine, and the Christian's whole walk comely. I may, to his praise, declare that at such times as I get near access to God, I find my voice and words more pleasant, and looks more beautiful, than at other times; and since this is in the outward, O it is much more in the inward of the mind and soul which hath communion with God! As also, there is a true safety in going to him at these times, for we are but weak and foolish, and cannot bear these pressures, and know not how to walk under them; but when the Almighty's everlasting arms are underneath us, we need not care how heavy our burdens be; and infinite wisdom giveth that wisdom and Spirit to his own, which the men of this world are not able to resist, as Acts vi. 10. O that all his people were more leaning to his wisdom and strength, and were wholly leaving off to walk in the light of the sparks of their own kindling! Then should He be unto them a cloud by day and a pillar of fire to guide them in the night; a strong tower and hiding-place in the evil day; yea, a strong tower and rock higher than enemies can reach unto. "The righteous flee unto him and are safe: for none can pluck them out of his hand." O, my children, let this God be your refuge! The last letter I had from your dear mother presseth me to pray for you, that God may show mercy to you. I shall continue to do so while in this life, God strengthening me.

SECTION XXXVI. *October* 10, 1665.

When in the last day's writing I mention the pleasantness of countenance, and words of those which have near access to God, I do not mean any alteration of the natural voice, which God hath given us to pray unto and glorify him with, as well as to make use of in our conversation with men; neither do I think that there should be any affectation in countenance or gestures, which is uncomely in the sight of men, and unpleasant to God, who doth look to the inward frame and temper of the heart, and is only well satisfied with what cometh from that fountain, flowing from thence out into the natural conduits, wherewith God hath endued us to praise him and converse with our neighbours to edification. This way our nature is sanctified, but not taken away. What is sinful we should desire to be wholly removed, but nothing more. There is nothing of sin in speaking with a shrill or hollow voice; but I love not to hear any speak to God with a weeping voice when they are not weeping. Many of far more worth than I am have fallen into a custom of this way of speaking in prayer; therefore, far be it from me to judge them, or speak evil of them, especially in this day, wherein many of the Lord's people are offended one at another for things of no weight. Oh! to see and feel that love among them which thinketh no evil, but judgeth well of all things, except of what is sinful; and yet we may hate the sin, and truly love the person. The eye doth not hate the hand because there is a spot upon it. Children have their spots. Oh! what would become of us if the spotless majesty of God had no more love to us than we have to one another; but this is our happiness, and the matter of our joy, "that his thoughts are not as our thoughts." In love he covereth and doeth away our iniquities; but often we cannot pass by the failings of each other, and live in love here with those with whom we shall live eternally in heaven, in a full and perfect harmony, every one rejoicing in the happiness of another, and so as it were making it their own. We should be as

members of one body in this lower life, but we will be somewhat nearer and more united in that glorious life above. Whenever the mind is lifted up to behold those things of that eternal and incorruptible kingdom, then I wonder that ever the thoughts should wander or take pleasure any where else. Now, my children, often when I am minding these lasting things, my next thoughts are, O to have you all assured of that life! Oh! that Christ were yours, and every one of you were his, when you find that you can be happy no where else, which you may easily do after search, then run to him for life and salvation. Give him your whole heart, for he will have no partner. They who know him do hate so much as a thought of setting up of a fellow beside him: they who are truly his temples will not desire a Dagon beside him. His glory, which filleth heaven and earth, and yet is not contained within these, may soon fill our little narrow temples. Try your love to him by your love to the brethren, "who are begotten of him." I never think myself right until I find not only this love to all the people of my God, but also even to all the common world a tenderness in my heart toward them; so that when I am in a right frame of spirit, and have the Spirit of truth moving in me, then if I hear any poor child weeping, though I know them not, yet my heart is moved toward them as if they were mine own; and not only so, but I then also love mine enemies and persecutors, and all the creatures of God, so that I cannot take the life from the least creeping thing, or a midge[1] that doth flee. My children, thus do I make myself known to you, that you may be in so far the followers of me as I am of my Lord and Master Jesus Christ. Oh! let him only be your perfect pattern, especially now when many are saying, Lo, here is Christ, and, lo, there! O search out with all diligence where he is, and abide with him where he maketh his flocks to rest.

[1] Gnat.

SECTION XXXVII. *October* 25, 1665.

The Lord revealed his purpose to Abraham, (Gen. chap. xviii.,) because he knew that Abraham "would command his children after him to keep the way of the Lord," when he was gone and gathered to his people. Certainly whosoever do truly feel the sweetness of this way, do desire to hold forth the excellency thereof not only to their children and dearest relations, but also would gladly have the framed world to be a sharer with them in the same salvation. There is envy among the courtiers of the kings of the earth, and they desire none to be sharers with them in their prince's favour; but there is no such thing among the favourites of the King of heaven; for when they cannot get him glorified as they would, nor others stirred up so to do, then they cry out to the heavens, earth, depths, and to all that is within these, to praise Him, who is goodness itself. And this is one evidence of his goodness, that he not only alloweth me to be happy, but also doth let me know that it is most acceptable to him that I should, after Abraham's example, stir up my children, when I have laid down this tabernacle of clay, to be partakers of happiness with me, and with all those who are heirs of Abraham's faith. And now, in obedience to my God, I leave what is said in this book to you, my children, for whom I have many wrestlings and most earnest desires that not one of you may be lost. Oh! give all diligence to make sure your interest in God, and so fulfil your father's joy! I know (as much as may be known of you, so far as you are come in this world, most of you yet being very young) you love me, and I hope you will yet love me more when gone. Show forth this your love in obeying of me in the Lord, which assuredly shall redound to your everlasting good. The children of Jonadab, the son of Rechab, were greatly commended for performing the words of their father, and were held as patterns to the men of Judah and Jerusalem, who refused to obey the commandments of God himself, which he sent to them by the Prophets. Thus shall you be

approved of the Lord God when you obey my desires, though given forth to you by me in great weakness, and yet may be made most effectual for your good by the free grace and goodness of the Almighty, who usually worketh by weak means, "and doth call things that are not as if they were." The consideration of what he may do doth encourage me to go about this my duty, which is as meat and drink to me, though a day of fasting for you and the Lord's interest and people. With all my heart, I wish you come not short in doing your part, but may speedily break off from the way of corrupt nature, sin, and misery, and receive the word and Spirit of truth, which will lead you into all truth. Until Christ be in you, you are but as reprobates. He is no other way in his own, in the world, but by his Holy Spirit. Oh! lodge nothing in your hearts that may hinder the entry of, or grieve this blessed Spirit when entered. So shall you perform your part, and shall then assuredly find that God will perform his part in giving you more than the desire of your hearts, even grace, and glory, and every good thing: O, who would not love such a Lord! O, who would not give all away for him! Oh! sweet is the cross, and pleasant are the sufferings, which lead to fellowship with him! I find that this is not the place of the Christian's rest, whose best work is to desire more and more of Christ's love, but cannot bear it when attained; yet I must confess that there is true rest in a sick-bed of Christ's love. Praise to Him who is not angry, but well pleased, when I ask much of this his love, and is more ready to give than I am to ask. Oh! to be alone with him in a wilderness, as I may be, and sometimes am, in this my banishment. Oh! to desire never to converse with any in the world unless it be to his glory, and for their good; but I may indeed acknowledge that my bodily presence is weak, and that the way whereby I may profit others, you, my children, and myself also, most, is by prayer: it should be my burden that I am so seldom in this holy exercise.

SECTION XXXVIII. *November* 30, 1665.

Upon Saturday last, there parted from me a pious minister, deposed for not conforming, who had come from Ross to see other friends and me; and the second speaker here said, the last Sabbath, that those who had met with so much lenity as to be confined, when a harder sentence might have been inflicted, would not abuse that lenity by frequenting the companies of seditious persons, and meddling with those who are given to changes. Thus am I the scorn of those who are at ease, and the contempt of the proud, who count it lenity to be a prisoner 124 miles from my family—the nearest way is so much; but as for me, I desire to wait on the Lord, "Who cometh to judge the earth, and will judge the world with righteousness, and the people with his truth:" "In whose hand there is a cup full of mixture, which the wicked of the earth must take, and wring out the dregs thereof, and drink them." But it may seem strange how they can call honest ministers, who are the same now that they were before, men given to changes; whereas that is most applicable to them, who not long since were for presbytery and the Covenant, but now are crying down that way which once they cried up; so that it is evident they are the men who are given to changes, whose doctrine is turned about with every wind. Happy shall they be who meddle not with them. These men think to find salvation in the Scriptures, and yet they cannot cite one verse in all the Bible which maketh not against them and their way. O, what a fearful condition is this! "There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked." Upon the other hand, the godly meet with nothing in the world that doth bring them more peace than troubles, afflictions, and crosses. These are the seed of true joy, and the safe harbour of the Christian, who usually is never so well as when sitting under the shadow of his Lord's cross, which often is his banner of love over them. Oh! I would not change my present life, let be the life of glory which is coming, with those who have their portion in this

life. O poor, empty, and dreadful portion, since even their prosperity, which is their best, is their ruin! Their bitterest usages and most cruel mockings do not hinder me to pity them, and now and then heartily to pray for them; but sometimes I must pray against them as the enemies of God, but for them as they are mine. This I did when I came from hearing this discourse on Sabbath last.

It is worth my remembering, that the first word which fell to be my ordinary to read was 2 Kings, chap. xix. What is spoken in Scripture to a nation may be taken and applied to a person. Oh! his word is always seasonable to me when I get grace to apply it, but most of all when I find my need greatest. Oh! happy is the soul which hath for its guide his Word and Spirit! Sometimes, "when I sit in darkness, he is light round about me," and joy to me in the midst of sorrow. That I may close up this, and go to some other part of his service, even to call upon him for his work and people, I advise you, my children, to choose him for your Lord and Master, whom I find to be the only chief of all the thousands in heaven and earth. And, therefore, O how gladly would I have you to make this wise choice, and so be eternally happy, living here in the same faith and hope with your mother and me, which is the faith that all those mentioned (Heb. xi.) lived in, that with us you may be sharers of that happiness for ever in that life of glory. Dear children, your love to me now would make you think it hard if you and I were in one place after so long absence, and yet you might not be suffered to come near me. Oh! think how much more dreadful it will be if any of you shall be so miserable as to stand on Christ's left hand on that great day, and see us your parents on our Lord's right hand, and you not dare come near to us, nor so much as once touch with your unclean hands the lowest hem of our shining robes, which shall be given us, being dipped in the blood of the Lamb. If in time you call upon him in sincerity, you shall find that his grace is free to you, even as it is to us. God grant you may do so, for it is your life.

SECTION XXXIX. *December* 8, 1665.

Although I meet with little lenity in my sentence from men, yet I must confess that I cannot but admire when I consider how gentle in all this God's dealing hath been with me; for, as a young scholar or green soldier, he hath trained me up from one step to another; for at first I was scarce able to endure a few days' imprisonment in the Castle of Edinburgh, being near my friends, and having precious Sir Andrew Ker for my fellow-prisoner, with whom I was of one mind. The next step was, my being for some more time prisoner within the parish of Gordon, having leisure to be preparing to endure and undergo further censure. My next prison was the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and thereafter that of this town. Blessed be my God, who hath so taught me as that I can endure a prison at such a distance from my dear relations, and without such a companion as Sir Andrew was, though I have no cause to complain of my present fellow-sufferer; for both of us I trust have, and shall have, cause to bless God for casting our lot together, which is, and may yet more be, to our advantage, both in our inward condition and in the freeing us from snares and temptations. Oh! the wisdom of God in ordering his concernments in the world, and in bringing the plots and devices of enemies to nought; yea, even turning these to their ruin, and to the ruin of their cause, and making them work together for his own glory, the good and safety of his people, and the establishment of his glorious work, to which, whatever doubtings and fears his chosen ones are now under, and to all that he hath done, they shall be forced in the end to cry, Grace, grace. Then it shall appear that none of his people's imprisonments, confinements, fines, banishments, and other pressures, might have been wanting; and even now, whenever our eyes are opened to see our King in his beauty, and the land afar off, which he hath promised to the overcomers, Oh! then we would endure ten thousand times more for him. What will not the enlightened Christian undergo that God may

be glorified? It is their happiness that he alloweth them any way by which they may give him glory. This same morning I was in some sort of trouble when I considered that angels and saints have nothing to give unto him, who was infinitely glorious in himself before these or any thing else were created; but this was mine ignorance, folly, and pride: for should not we be content to be nothing, and rejoice to have nothing, that he may be all, and that we may receive all from him, who doth esteem himself the richer the more we take from him? Here I am interrupted with the visit of friends.

SECTION XL. *December* 9, 1665.

Yesterday I was stopped in a large field, and yet I know not what He, by whose Spirit I desire only to be led, will give me to say of him this morning: for it is not my way to think of what I am to write here beforehand, neither was it my custom, when I had a family to speak to, to premeditate what I was to say, or to look on the place of Scripture which I was to read, until I read it. Far be it from me to condemn those that do otherwise; or to tie you, my children, to follow this my practice, which I only set down that you may the better understand my way, and may not wonder when you see that this day I follow not forth the purpose I left yesterday. All have not one and the same gift, and I desire only to use the talent which my God hath given me, which is so weak, yet blessed be He for what he hath given me, that some may think it strange that I should adventure to leave anything in write, though it be only to my children, in this wise age, wherein very much wisdom, learning, and piety, is to be found in books. Some of these being also written by fathers to their children, full of many useful instructions and prudent rules for them to order their life by in their greatest concernments, to wit, in their religion, studies, marriage, choice of friends, and such like, so that though I were able, yet it were needless for me to add anything of that

kind, since you, my dear children, may read the best of these; but for your Christian walk, take none other rule but the word of God, and pray for his Holy Spirit, which will teach you all things until you be endued with power from on high: account yourselves but ignorant, although you had all the philosophy in the world. As for these perfections, you may see the end of them; for if you could attain to Solomon's wisdom and enjoyments, which you may speculate, you should then the more knowingly cry out, "All is but vanity, and vexation of spirit." And yet verily there is a rest for the soul where it may enter in and swim, but never win to the farthest end of that ocean of pleasures, and yet be satisfied, desiring no more than it hath, being able to hold no more joy, and being filled with all the fulness of God. Glory to him for evermore, who hath made man twice happy! for when he had lost his first happiness of his infinite love, he sent his Son, the Lord Jesus, to bring poor man from under that fearful damnation wherein he was lying, and to raise him up to a more sure and blessed estate than the first was. Such a thing may be supposed, as that if the devil had known that man's fall should thus have redounded to his everlasting welfare, and to the glory of God, he could not have tempted Adam and Eve, but would rather have suffered them and their posterity to continue as they were. Many times the subtle enemy and his wicked instruments are deceived and ensnared in their own devices. But to return: I am sure it will be a great part of the song of angels and saints in heaven—the Lord Jesus' great salvation. Oh! with what height of love do the saints there say, "For thou hast redeemed us!" We should think on what is above, that we may tune our low songs the higher. Blessed be He who esteemeth our offering of praise a glorifying of Him! Often when I think on this last verse of the 50th Psalm, and when I can do no more, I repeat very frequently that word, Praise, praise, praise.

SECTION XLI. *December* 13, 1665.

I esteem that to be a well-spent breath which is spent in praising the God of all our mercies. Happy are they that spend their strength this way, or in any other piece of his service; even in this life they shall renew it from time to time. And how comfortable will it be to them at the hour of death? when their consciences bear them witness that it hath been their endeavour to spend their time and strength in his service, and when the Lord by his Spirit shall be saying to their souls, "Come, good and faithful servants." Oh! the sick-bed shall then be as the very gates of heaven. It is one of the most beautiful spectacles here below to see lively Christians lay down their old worn tabernacle of clay, "being assured not to be found naked, but clothed upon, that mortality may be swallowed up of life," and laying down their bodies in the dust, as seed cast in the ground, "that it may be raised up a glorious body." "It must die before it be quickened." It is true, Elias passed not through the natural and usual way, for God can in the twinkling of an eye make this translation and change. So shall it be with those of his own who shall be living in the last day, even the great day of our Lord. Blessed be He who gives me to expect that day with any measure of faith, hope, and joy. O! I am even best when, in my mind, I am hasting to this day, and joining with all those who say, "Even so, come, Lord Jesus!" O! he is coming, and with him a glorious train of angels and saints, who esteem the more of their glory, that it is all given to them by him! O! how glad are they to be clothed with their King's livery! But when our King shall sit down upon his stately throne of judgment, what a dreadful sight will that be to all that wretched number of prisoners which will be brought trembling before him, to receive from him their sentence of everlasting condemnation; which shall so seize upon them, that they shall instantly receive the full persuasion that they shall never be happy, nor ever enjoy the least moment's ease or relaxation from their inexpressible torment. My children,

knowing in some measure the terror of the Lord, I desire to persuade you to flee from this terrible wrath, and to be reconciled unto God. A better advice cannot be given you, and this is even my last will which I leave to you: which is the one half of this book's title. O! know that it is no burdensome nor grievous command! but it is your life, my dear children. O! follow and obey the will of the dead! for so this will be ere it come to your hands. I have such earnestness of heart, and bensil[1] of soul for you, in this your so great concernment, that you need not think it strange if I make repetitions; and so much the rather this may be, that I very seldom read what I have formerly written. The first part of the title is, "God's free Mercies to me," which I know shall be recorded in heaven amongst the everlasting monuments of his goodness; but I desire to set down here, under mine own hand, to you, my children, some few of these his mercies, which I cannot number, that you may praise him on my behalf on earth, when I shall be praising him above after a more full manner than now I can; as also, that you may be encouraged to "serve the God of your father." To every one of you that endeavoureth to do this, I heartily leave you my blessing. But if any of you shall be so mad as not to seek after God, to such I have no blessing at all to leave: for how can I bless those whom God doth not bless? For though you should have the fatness of this earth, yet I count that no blessing unless the favour of God be with it; which doth make poverty, afflictions, crosses, and even all things, blessings. Blessed be He who is the fountain of all mercies for ever.

SECTION XLII. *January* 6, 1666.

Upon Tuesday last, betwixt eleven and twelve of the night, when I was lain down, but not fallen asleep, I was suddenly raised with a cry of fire: which in a very short time burnt a house over

[1] Bent, desire, longing.

against this, where now I am, and have been since the 22d of September last. A little before the fire the wind arose very strong, and continued so all the time, and blowing straight upon the house, and did endanger it more than any other, especially my chamber, upon which the fire did sometimes so take, that it was a sort of wonder it was preserved; which token of the goodness of my God I desire to keep recorded in my heart, and to insert here. This family, by taking in my fellow-prisoner and me, did get the ill-will of some; by which, since my entry in to it, I did think myself the more concerned to pray that their labour of love might be rewarded; and not only so, but I also judge it to be my duty to seek the good and welfare of this city and country, the land of my captivity, both while I am detained amongst them, which I know not how long may be, as also, if I were removed from them, it were my part to wish them well, who have shown so much love to me, a banished stranger; though I count it the goodness of God, that giveth me favour in the sight of those among whom I am cast. This hath been his usual way, and I set to my witness and seal to this truth, that "He changeth not." He hath been, is now, and to the end of time will be, with all his in the furnace of affliction. If any inquire, When is God nearest to his people, or to any one of them in particular? it may be answered, Even then when they are most in trouble; when waves and billows are going over them, He will not let them sink: He can preserve alive under the waters. If the most intelligent of men had seen Jonah cast overboard into the midst of the tempestuous seas, within less than an hour thereafter they could not but have concluded him dead. O! it is safe and true wisdom, not only to let much time pass over, but even the end of time come, before we have any harsh thoughts of his dealings: for in the close of his perfect work, we shall acknowledge that all his ways "have been mercy and truth to them that love and fear him;" and that nothing of all that hath been done might have been wanted; for he doth nothing in vain, and without him a hair cannot fall from the heads of any of his servants. This is not above our faith, for whenever we know his infinite power and goodness, we will then acknowledge

that his gracious providence doth reach to the smallest of our concernments; and if to the smallest, then certainly to the greatest. Therefore should we be "careful for nothing, but in everything make our necessities known to him by prayer, with thanksgiving." O that I and you, my children, may so do!

I must return to what I would further say of our delivery from the fire upon Tuesday night last. This house was gone in the esteem of all the beholders, and though I did see no outward appearance of its safety, yet I had all the time scarce any fear, but did trust in God that he would be graciously pleased to deliver it: for which I did send up short and hasty prayers to him, like those who cried to the Lord, (2 Chron. xiii. 14,) which have been sent up in haste, and, as it is like, with some confusion. This was the first Scripture which I providentially read after the fire. As the Lord heard them, so He did poor unworthy me, and granted the broken, confused, and hasty suits which I did put up to him: for all the time I was busy in using the means, yet it was not these, but his free grace and mercy that preserved this house, which I esteem more of than ten times the worth of the house, for many respects, which I will not here insert. There was also something observable in the house that was burnt, which is not fit for me to set down in writing. Only I insert this much, because I am ready, Oh! too ready, to forget his mercies; and likewise to show that He is the hearer of prayers, and doth love them that love him. And not only so, but also doth good to those who show any favour to his people when they are low in the esteem of the world. He will not let a "cup of cold water, given to a disciple, in the name of a disciple, pass unrewarded." O how many encouragements are there to serve him! Glory, glory to Him for evermore. O! let all the angels, and the saints above, and in this lower world, say, Amen.

SECTION XLIII. *January* 31, 1666.

I find that a conscientious remembering of one mercy maketh way for the receiving of another: for since my last writing here, I

received a letter from my dearly-beloved wife, showing me that she trusteth there is a good work begun in our son Robert. This is amongst the gladdest news that could have come to me. In comparison of this, what a small thing is it to be raised up to rule over a nation or kingdom on the earth? Where are they who did once style themselves kings of kings? Could their dust be now known from the dust of the poorest that lived in the world with them? Some of them would be esteemed gods when they were gone, and for this end did cause hide their bodies when dead, that the people might think they were gone up into heaven. They had good cause so to do; for if their dead corpses had been seen, it would have well appeared what filthy idols they were. Vanity of vanities is written upon all momentary things; but a work of grace in the heart, a grain of the seed of life cast in by the hand of God—this is of inestimable worth: a glorious work begun, that shall never have an end. I believe that it is thus with my son; and I trust that he who hath begun that good work will perfect it. The little that I hear I am bound to take as the answer of the many prayers which I have put up. Many times do I, when alone, name all your seven names before God, begging the salvation of your souls, and that your days upon the earth may not be spent in following vanities, but in serving the Lord. Though I should not within time get the answer of my desires, yet I think it my duty to go down to my grave in the hope of this, that God of his rich free grace will do you, my children, good. Blessed be He who, knowing my weakness, doth think fit to give me in part the answer of my prayers, to encourage me to ask more, and that in faith, when I find him giving; and likewise to comfort me now, when under the cross he bestoweth on me the hundred-fold which is promised with persecution, and with the forsaking of any thing for him. Oh! how abundantly will my short separation from you, my son, be made up if I get you to be with me in everlasting joys, into which we shall enter if we endure to the end, within a few years at most. I dare not now, when suffering for my Lord and Master, think my time long, lest I should weary of his cross. I verily

believe, that if I were taken up to see the King in his beauty, and the happy estate of the saints above,—if then it were asked at me, whether wilt thou presently enter into these pleasures, or go down to the earth, and do thy Lord service in filling up what is remaining of his afflictions in thy flesh? yea, I am persuaded that I would deny myself, and answer, I will go and bear his cross, though it were for a thousand years; for, Oh! what will they not endure who see him that is invisible? But, Oh! my leanness and barrenness, especially my shortcomings in praising him, and edifying others by my walk and discourse as occasion serves, and in reproving evil-doers for their unfruitful works of darkness. When I think on these, my many and great failings, I must then say, O to be gone to that place where no sin is! I have nothing to uphold me under the sense of mine infirmities but the thought of this, that the free grace of my God shall shine so much the more through all eternity. Oh! I desire to be well content to be nothing, that he may be all. My son, I have thus inserted God's goodness to you and to me, that you may be encouraged to hold on your way, which is the way of life; and if at any time you fall slack, or through weakness and the power of temptations be turned aside, O then remember your first love, and hasten to do your first work. This I say to you, and to all the rest of my children, "Love God, and keep his commandments, which are not grievous:" so shall you fulfil my joy. Oh! that so it may be.

SECTION XLIV. *February* 5, 1666.

God hath been glorified by the sufferings of some of his who have been shut up in prisons, and cut off as martyrs, they not being known to be so by any in the world, as that any one soul hath been bettered by them or by their sufferings: yet shall these shine with them of the first rank in glory. And certainly Paul would have cheerfully endured all the afflictions which he suffered for the truth, although he should not have seen the furtherance of

the gospel, and many brethren strengthened by his bonds, as is mentioned, Phil. chap. i. God of his goodness doth give his suffering servants to see some of the fruit of their labour, to encourage them the more under the cross; as also, he maketh the persecuting of his people tend to the furthering of his work, to disappoint his enemies, whom he doth take in their own snares, and confounding their wisdom, bringeth the contrary good out of their wicked devices, so that all their plottings and actings tend to the glory of his great name, the advantage of his work, and to the good of his people: especially to the joy and comfort of those whom he honoureth, and upon whom he doth bestow the gift, to suffer for his sake.

If the Spirit of truth had not told us that our King is graciously pleased to allow our poor empty suffering to be for his sake, we could never have believed it to be so. I find it is seeming humility, but true pride, not to take all his allowances freely. He is the Lord of all, and great gifts do very well become his greatness to give and our emptiness to receive. I desire hereafter never to refuse what he freely offereth; yea, I can no way glorify him so much as in taking from him, and believing his word, and receiving his promises, though conveyed by never so weak instruments. As upon Friday last, one whom I was labouring to strengthen in the faith, was made instrumental to strengthen me under my sufferings, by telling me, that when they were earnestly minding my condition before the Lord, it was given them as the answer: Be not troubled for him; for he is one of those of whom it shall be said, "These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." The tempter is ready to object, that my tribulations are not great, and, therefore, this is not applicable to me; but since God is pleased to count them great, who doth account of things that are not as though they were, I believe his word, and will give glory to his free grace, and give Satan the lie. Thus shall his temptations be frustrated, and I shall become stronger through him who strengtheneth me. This strengthening word was brought

to me by one who saith they have got good by poor empty me since I came hither, which I insert not to boast of, God is my witness, but that he may get praise; for why should I conceal his goodness? When at first I got my sentence to come hither, it was much upon my heart, and hath ever since been so, that the Lord would make me instrumental for the good of others, and that he would be pleased to bring some good out of my small sufferings, which I thought I was bound to believe should assuredly be, though I should not see it within time; but glory to him who is graciously pleased to let me see that my coming here is not in vain, but for the advantage of some here and elsewhere. This is his hundred-fold which he giveth me, with persecution in this life. He knoweth my weakness is such as that I need such encouragements to help me under the cross on in my way; but, Oh! that I may ever lean to himself alone, and not to any of those props, which, when leaned to, will but prove broken reeds, the splinters whereof will hurt the hands. My children, thus do I mention the goodness of my God to me, that you may be encouraged to seek and serve the God of your father, who can provide food for you even in a wilderness, and make you to rejoice under the sharpest sufferings for righteousness. I will leave at this, my true witness, that I cannot enough commend the cross of Jesus Christ, even the joy and peace which it bringeth in this life to them who willingly walk under it.

SECTION XLV. *Greenknow, March* 10, 1666.

Upon the 6th day of February, my friends, by their affectionate pains, without my knowledge, did procure from the High Commission the change of my confinement from Elgin to mine own house, and three miles about, for the payment of L.200 sterling, and bond by Stitchel and Tersons for my peaceable and inoffensive behaviour. This word "inoffensive" did stumble me; but if I offend not my God, I need not value the groundless offences

which men take against me. The order came to my hand upon the 20th day of February, and I came from Elgin on the 23d, and to this place on Tuesday last, the 6th of March. I had no cause of wearying of my last condition, for abundantly did I find my Lord and Master's promise (Ezek. xi. 16) fulfilled to me. Many times I have thought that afterwards I should remember on that time which I had at Elgin as one of the sweetest times which I have had in my lifetime; yea, it may be the thoughts of God's goodness to me there shall be food to my soul the remainder of my days. Often have I walked in the close walk of the Chancellor's garden two hours or more, all the time being wholly taken up and spent in praying, meditating, worshipping, and praising. The last winter my usual walk was down the water side of Lossie, below the town, which was so solitary that I was never twice interrupted by rencountering of any. Thus the recreating of my body was no disturbance to my spirit. I had never better health, and so few fears and anxious cares, as the year past, and so full a feeling of the sufferings of the people of God, and of his borne-down interests; as also, I had more favour in the eyes of those among whom I was cast than ever I could have expected. And not only did the inexpressible goodness of my God abound toward me in my banishment, but the same goodness did also attend my family at home all that time, for all which I have cause for ever to praise the name of my God; and now I have nothing but hope in his free grace, who changeth not, to uphold me under the fears I have, that it may not go so well with me when I am in the midst of my family and friends. My snares and troubles are like to be more, and temptations stronger. Neither am I so fully within the prayers of the Lord's people, not being so great a sufferer as when banished; as also, the soul seldom or never thriveth so under prosperity as it doth in time of adversity, especially when sufferings are for righteousness' sake. The Lord is ever near to his in time of trouble as a present helper to them; and any poor weak creature such as I am can walk cheerfully under the heaviest cross when he helpeth them, who never leaveth his own in the furnace; but

the strongest of the saints cannot well bear a prosperous state, so that for this and many other respects I have now much cause to spend more time in prayer, and to be more watchful than formerly. And yet, Oh! it is like I shall have less time to spend in these holy exercises, because that my worldly employments are now increased. O for grace to serve my God in these! and O that I may now more than ever mind the afflictions of his people, and may ever with fear possess mine enjoyments when I remember those (far more worthy than I) who have not the like liberty! O that their inward consolations may always abound to them from the God of their salvation! and O that I may ever have more of a fellow-feeling of their sufferings than barely to say, Be ye comforted, be ye clothed, be ye fed! Of myself, I can do nothing that is good. O that he who hath brought me from the womb hitherto may help me to do every good work to the praise of his rich free grace! My God, leave me not when I am old and grey-haired! O that the remainder of my days in the earth may be a fruitful and flourishing time to me, and that in my generation I may be for the good of the souls of others! Blessed be my God who helped me so to be in the North: and, now the number of those to whom I may daily speak in this house is increased, O for a large measure of his holy quickening Spirit, and that I may make mention of his most excellent name as becometh! and that we of this family, and all those whom I have left in the North, whom I desire always to remember, and his servants everywhere, I say, O that we may all worship God in the spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh! According to my yesternight's ordinary, (Phil. iii. 3,) I have often thought I would labour to instruct and exhort my children and family more carefully if I should be restored to them (as now I am) than formerly. But all my good resolutions will prove but as the miscarrying womb and seed which never taketh life, unless God, who quickeneth the dead, give life and bring to perfection; therefore are mine eyes toward him, waiting for his supplying of all my wants, who will never disappoint those that put their trust in him. My children, believe in him, evermore. Amen.

THE COPY OF A LETTER WRITTEN BY WALTER PRINGLE OF GREENKNOW, FROM ELGIN, TO HIS FAMILY. DIRECTED FOR THOSE OF THE HOUSE OF GREENKNOW.

My Friends,—Although by violence I am put from you, yet a necessity of caring for you is upon me. I see those cares that are only for the things of this life are but of very small concernment; therefore, my very earnest desire for all of you is, that you may diligently seek after the knowledge of God through Jesus Christ, whom to know is life eternal, that so you may have your treasure in heaven, where moth and rust entereth not, and where thief and robber cannot come. Oh! what a poor life is it for one to take pleasure in nothing but that which is continually in the power of devils and men. Thus it is with all those who have not their life hid with Christ in God. Make your peace with him while yet you are upon your way, and get him upon your side; then you need not care for all that can be against you. Your enemies are many, and those are the most dangerous which strive to keep you secure in that dead sleep, the end of which will be everlasting torment if in time you awake not. Those of you who never had a true change wrought upon your hearts, alas! you see not the danger you are in, nor the terrible wrath that is hanging over your heads, that may fall upon you and destroy you for ever, some night when you lie down, before ever your eyes open in the morning. I see the hazard such are in, and the longings I have after your good, do press me to warn you to come out of your false peace, that you may partake of that peace which passeth all natural understanding, which the Lord Jesus giveth to every one that asketh from him. Oh! that you may be built upon him who is the Rock of ages: that your building may not be shaken when the winds blow and the storms arise, which will ruin every one that is not founded upon the chief corner-stone, which is disallowed by the foolish builders of this world, but is precious to

them that believe. You shall never fully know his worth and excellency. When once you receive him, your greatest grief will be that you should have lived so long time without him: then will you love him more for himself than for the salvation which he will give you. So long as you stay at a distance from him, you will think in your minds that these things are but fables; but receive the truth into your hearts, and then you shall acknowledge that the thousand part hath not, yea, cannot be told you; and then you shall not only be content to be happy yourselves alone, but shall press others also to take a share with you, telling them what the Lord hath done for your souls. O that Christians were thus pointing out the way one to another, now when the faithful guides are removed into corners, and the blind are left to lead the blind! I pray that the great Shepherd of souls may lead you, and feed you, and keep you from being driven away from himself in this stormy day. I trust that my absence from you shall not be to your loss, but for your souls' advantage. If my sufferings be, through God's goodness, made a mean of doing good to one of the least among you, I shall count myself a very great gainer. The Searcher of hearts knoweth that the welfare of your souls is dearer to me than all mine enjoyments in this world are, though I cannot as yet say with the Apostle, that I would be content to be separate from the Lord Jesus for you; yet truly I am content to remain banished from you, and from my wife and children, if I may profit you by these my bonds, even though they should continue upon me the few days I have to live in this world. Your spiritual advantage was that motive inclining me to undergo this sentence, even next to God's glory and the salvation of mine own soul; for I knew that if once I should swear falsely, then my words should scarce ever have place with you; yea, I should have been as a tree blown up by the roots and withered, cumbering the ground, and fit for nothing but burning. Blessed be my God, who hath preserved me from being a stumbling-block to any of you, and hath kept me from contradicting by my practice those truths which I endeavoured, though in great weakness, to hold forth to you.

The sum of which is this, that they, and they only, are fit to be Christ's disciples who are willing to part with every sin, and when called to it, as now I am, with every enjoyment for him. Oh! he is well worth ten thousand times more than all we can do and suffer for him, who hath no need of us or of our service, only he is graciously pleased to allow us to be happy in serving and enjoying him, who is the Prince of the kings of the earth, and chief of all the thousands in heaven and earth. He is altogether lovely. He is the heaven of his saints, and it will be their life and inexpressible joy to behold his glorious excellency in eternity. Those whose hearts and tongues have been most enlarged to meditate upon and to express his infinite worth, will wonder when they shall see him as he is, that they should have had such slender thoughts of him. The souls that are enlightened with the knowledge of him will be so far from being afraid of men, that they will be ready to say to enemies, Devise ye the sorest of torments, and we will cheerfully go through them for his name's sake.

If any of you say in your hearts, Can these things be? The best answer I can give you is, Come and see. I know that in any other thing you would trust my word. Oh! believe me in this, and you shall find that it is good to draw near unto God, and that whatever the ignorant world say, there is a reward for the righteous, even an exceeding and eternal weight of glory. And what are their present afflictions and crosses but as a little shower of rain, which will make them find their fair palace and mansion the more heartsome when they enter into it? Neither is all delayed until we come there; for I may bear witness unto this truth, that some, even in their sharpest trials, find more sweetness in the blinks of his gracious loving countenance than in all the pleasures which this world can afford. And now since the least allowance our Lord giveth to his own is far beyond the best things which the worldlings have a moment's enjoyment of, therefore, O my dear friends, embrace him for your Lord and Master; and you who have hitherto lived without him, delay no longer, but set to with all your might to inquire after him, who is not far from

every one of you. And now, when there are few watchmen left, but such as will smite and wound you, ask the daughters of Jerusalem, your neighbours, who in some measure know him and enjoy him, where their beloved is. Blessed be God, there are some in the family who may direct the rest in the way that leadeth to him; and it is his allowance to you all, that you should ask at himself where he feedeth and maketh his flocks to rest at noon. Live as strangers and pilgrims on this earth, and so declare plainly that you seek a country, and look for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. If you be prevailed with to follow on to know the Lord, and be able to say in truth, that you have none in heaven but him, and that there is none upon the earth that you desire besides him, then have I the answer of this, and of my prayers for you; and you shall refresh me in my chains, and I shall joyfully praise God on your behalf. When there is little of God to be seen or felt in most of the congregations, esteem the more of your assembling to worship him in the family. Think not the less of that exercise that it is performed by a woman. I have often thought that you would have no loss by my absence, so long as you have her to worship God in the family with you. The apostles themselves gladly received from women the news of our Lord's resurrection from the dead, as you may find, Matth. xxviii.; Luke xxiv.; John xx. The God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight. My love be with you all in Christ Jesus. Be of good comfort you who hope for our Lord's coming. Rejoice, and again rejoice, for he will come, and will not tarry. Live in this faith. Farewell.

(*Sic subscrib.*) WAL. PRINGLE.

Elgin, November 21, 1665.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

PARTICULAR SOLILOQUIES

AND

COVENANT ENGAGEMENTS,

PAST BETWIXT MRS JANET HAMILTON, THE DEFUNCT LADY OF ALEXANDER GORDON OF EARLSTOUN, UPON THE SEVERAL DIETS, AND AT THE SEVERAL PLACES UNDERWRITTEN, WHICH WERE FOUND IN HER CABINET AMONG HER PAPERS AFTER HER DEATH, AT EARLSTOUN, FEBRUARY 26, 1696; BEING ALL WRITTEN AND SUBSCRIBED WITH HER OWN HAND, AND THOUGHT FIT TO BE DISCOVERED FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF OTHERS TO DO THE LIKE DUTY,

AT THE DESIRE OF PIOUS FRIENDS.

AN ACCOUNT

OF

THE PARTICULAR SOLILOQUIES AND COVENANT ENGAGEMENTS

OF

MRS JANET HAMILTON.

THE FIRST, DATED AT BLACKNESS CASTLE, DECEMBER 1687, AS FOLLOWS:—

O LORD, I desire to bless thy name for thy former loving-kindnesses unto me in the day of my strait, in helping and standing by me when overcharged with affliction, and deserted of friends. What was I and my father's house? A poor insufficient creature, taken up with nothing but vanities of all sorts. O what moved so holy a God ever to condescend to look upon me, and pass by so many much more worthy than poor undeserving me! O praises be unto thee, O Most High! O that my tongue were employed through time in magnifying the holy name of so merciful a God! May not I say, His mercies are over all his other works to me? may not I sit down and admire free love? First,

in inclining my heart to love him and his people, and in casting my lot amongst the godly, and in bestowing a godly and kind husband on me, (when left destitute without father or mother,) and that he did so care for me as not to suffer me to enjoy the desires of my heart, but was at pains to hedge in my ways with thorns; and his infinite love suffered me not to sit at my ease, enjoying my pleasures in the day of Zion's calamity, and prepared the way by smaller trials for greater. Thou didst in thy infinite wisdom, not at first cast me into the hottest flames of the furnace, lest I should not have been able to stand, but in fright, fainted and turned back. But, O praise! praise be to Him who inhabits eternity, that condescended so far to me, a worm, as sweetly to train me up, in alluring me, and speaking comfortably to me, at my first entry into the wilderness. Thou causedst thy word to be to my soul as the honey and the honey-comb. Thou madest me sit under thy shadow with great delight, and thy fruits were sweet unto my taste; so that many a time, which to onlookers was sad, was sweet to me. The Lord did so support and feast me in his banqueting-house, that I was made to rejoice in the midst of my tribulations. Likewise, thou didst not suffer me to go on with those that were indifferent in Christ's matters, but with thy rods thou didst raise such a zeal and love on my spirit, and so filledst my mouth with arguments, that I could not see any thing like defection from, or wrong done to any of thy truth, without resenting, testifying, and contending against it. Thou so far changedst my heart, which was proud and haughty, much disdaining the converse of the poor; but thou helpedst me to be denied to great folk, and to the reproach I suffered on that head, making the company of the poor, that were godly in the land, dear unto me; and I hope they shall be so while they keep in God's way, he having passed by the great ones, and honoured the poor boldly to testify for him; and those whom he honours, I desire, through grace, to honour. Praise be to thee whose care of me was such, that it was ministers who were valiant for Christ that were sent in my way, such as did not flatter me in my sin, but faithfully and freely did hold out, in the gospel, what

was sin and duty, and sealed the same with their blood. How didst thou encourage me with many sweet answers of prayer, to confirm me in thy love! Thou didst help me, in the days of thy love to me, to make a full resignation of all that was mine unto thee, that when I was put out of all, stripped bare and destitute, not knowing of shelter to me and my poor babes, how calmly and quietly didst thou help me to go under it, so that I was made to fear that it was stupidity, and not supporting grace. And such was thy love, that even in that thou wouldst not let me go without a reproof: for there was a friend suffered to wrong me in a business, and the Lord withdrew, and then I was as a bullock unaccustomed to the yoke; I could not get it borne until I mourned for my folly, in thinking that nature could do any thing in me, without assisting grace; then he helped me to make a full resignation of new of all that was mine, and to look beyond all earthly portions unto that noble inheritance which thou hast purchased with thy blood, and gavest me full contentedness in all my sufferings, both from friends and foes.

And when thou didst (for the trial of my faith and patience) throw me in very hot flames of affliction, having all discouragements from the world that a poor thing could be trysted with; and that which was sorest to me, not having that measure of the sense of thy presence as sometimes before—but, O that condescendence! O that fatherly love that did not suffer me to sink in this storm, which was lightly looked on by the most part, few to sympathise with me, but many thinking it their duty to add to my affliction. O praises, praises be to thee, who in that time [didst] help me to sit silent, bearing thy indignation patiently, because I sinned against thee, yet thy mercies did not fail towards me; but thou didst in this extremity secretly support me, and didst, by restraining grace, bound me in, not giving me liberty to seek sinful deliverance. O Lord, continue in thy love, in keeping me in thy way, that I may have reason to set up my Ebenezer, and to say, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped me." O thou that hast begun this good work, perfect it, that I may praise thy holy name through time and

all eternity. And now, O Lord, out of the sense of all these thy loving-kindnesses towards thy poor handmaid, I desire, in thy strength, to renew former engagements, and solemnly anew to enter in covenant with thee. O Lord, help me to go sincerely about it, and let thy presence go along with the duty! O Lord, I here desire to enter solemnly in covenant with thee, taking thee for my Lord and Master, and accepting thee on thy own terms; taking thee for my King, Priest, and Prophet, and in my station, through thy grace, to stand by truth, and cheerfully to take on thy yoke, and follow thee. Lord, thou knowest my weakness—I desire to believe that thou wilt be a present help in the day of need to me, according to thy promise, and I in the faith of this do go on. I here give my hearty consent to thy coming and taking possession in my soul; and to thy casting out of all there that stands in opposition to thee. Come, Lord Jesus, subdue all my corruptions, and bring them under thy feet, that I may be, through thee, a conqueror over them. I desire here to take thee for my all, to be ruled and governed by thee, acquiescing to whatsoever shall be thy way of dealing with me; give me thyself, and this shall be all my desire. I desire to enter my protestation at the throne of grace, against all principalities and powers in me that stand out against thee, and shall endeavour, in thy strength, to war against them: for they are as a tyrant not having consent. Whatever I have been, I do here accept of the offer of peace through Christ, and do make a sure covenant with thee this day, never to be ranversed, hoping thou wilt make all forthcoming unto me, both on thy part and mine. I desire here to own all the controverted truths that are founded on thy holy word, which word I desire to be my rule; and to confess thee before men, that thou mayest confess me before thy Father. Lord, give me it in that hour, if I shall be brought before great ones for thy name's sake. I desire to adhere to all the articles of the Covenants, National and Solemn League, to which I stand engaged, only I disown the king's part of it, he having unkinged himself by the breach of Covenants, and by making our land a land of graven images, that

was so solemnly given up to God. I desire in weakness to adhere unto it, although burnt by the hand of the hangman, and now buried by the hand of those that better things were expected of. O Lord, I desire to close all by giving myself up to thee, and all mine. Accept, Lord Jesus Christ, and help to perform, and own me as thy covenanted child, protesting humbly, that failing on my part (against which I resolve, as thou knowest) shall not make void this covenant, I having accepted of thy offer, on thy own terms, and will henceforth wait for what is good, that when thou comest I may rejoice in thee, crying, This is my God, and I have waited for him. As witness my hand, at Blackness Castle, December 1687.

(*Sic subscribitur*) JANET HAMILTON.

THE SECOND, DATED AT EARLSTOUN, JANUARY 1691.

Lord, thou knowest my former engagements which passed betwixt my soul and thee, when I entered into covenant with thee (to my soul's great comfort) in the sweet castle of Blackness, I giving myself up unto thee, promising to be for thee in my station, adhering to thy sacred Scriptures, and to our noble work of Reformation, (which was then the head of my sufferings,) and for which I had lost the favour of my relations and Christian friends, whose untenderness to me made me sit solitary, eating the bread of adversity, and drinking the water of affliction; killed all the day long with sore and heavy reproaches, few or none to sympathise with me but thyself, who [didst] sweeten all my trials with the soul-comforting consolations of thy Holy Spirit. Such contentedness thou gavest me in thy sweet cross, that I never knew what it was to weary. I at that time engaged to endure whatever ingredients thou shouldst put in my cup to drink, and to drink it cheerfully and submissively. Such was thy love to me, that thou broughtest me from under the feet of that cruel enemy without wronging truth; and hast let me see I have nothing to boast of, it being nothing in me, but mere free grace that perfected strength in my weakness.

O that I had the tongue of the learned, that I might show forth thy praises! It was not I but thou who [didst] magnify thy power, in carrying a poor weak thing through such depths, and suffer great ones to stagger and fall in the way. Thy word was made out in making use of the foolish things of the world to confound the wise. Thou hast made thy infinite love to carry through a poor finite creature. How oft have I been made to stand, and wonder, and admire free love, knowing my own weakness, and the many infirmities I am liable to by a body of sin and death. Such was thy love, that thou gavest me courage, that neither the flattering of friends, nor the threats of enemies, could move me to do anything to truth's disadvantage; such was thy love to me. O thy sweet cross! Thy yoke was made easy unto me, and thy burden light. O that any should scarr at[1] thy soul-instructing rods! How many lessons of Christianity are to be learned under thy rod, and so much comfort and consolations to be found in quietly and calmly acquiescing to his will, that I may say, I shall never have such contentedness were I to be inheritor of the whole world, as I had under the sweet cross of Christ. O praises, praises to Him who made it so!

But with what a heavy heart did I come out of that castle of Blackness; the Lord had given me such a sight of the intricate dispensations that the Church was to meet with by the coming over of the Prince of Orange, that instead of being compassed about with songs of deliverance, it was attended with great heaviness. I could take pleasure in nothing but in mourning over the sad things that I saw coming on the Church; when others were rejoicing, I durst not make mention of my disconsolate case. When they spake of preferment to my family, it was as a sword to my heart. I cried, and the Lord heard me in that, and instead of that, he gave me assurance of the salvation of my dear child William; and gave me full submission to his sickness, which I could never win to before, accompanied with many sweet melting days, which was to me an inexpressible

[1] Be scared by.

mercy. O, then, what did I see next? The work of God betrayed not by enemies, nor by that party only that had sat at their ease, but by those ministers and people that had joined their lives in the high places of the fields, taking cheerfully the spoiling of their goods. These are they that have buried the work of the Lord, ladened the hearts of their poor afflicted brethren, buried the Covenant and the work of Reformation, which was the glory of our land. Seeing all this, with the home-coming to my house, which I never thought to have enjoyed until Christ had been restored to his rights, for, O Lord, thou knowest I desired not delivery till it had come with Zion's, I say, this cast me in a great grief. Lord, thou knowest my burden: it is not hid from thee, and this is all my comfort. O the depths, the intricate dispensations, I have been tried with since I came out of that foresaid castle! If it were not that my case and Zion's is levelled alike, surely I should sink beneath the stream; "but the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" Lord, help me that I weary not before it be at an end! Would it not affect any soul, that ever had any love to Christ, to see the sad fruit of personal delivery, every one running out of the furnace after the world, after their own rights and privileges, without being concerned to inquire how Christ is invested in his rights and prerogatives? O, is this all the gratitude we have shown him for all his loving-kindness to us in the wilderness? for his feeding, clothing, and preserving, in despite of enemies? Is this all we have rendered to him, to run as so many sheep out of a fold, every one what he could win at, without ever looking and considering what was their duty to do in such a time for Christ and his cause? O, wrath is gone out against us! Plague upon plague is the portion allotted for the professors of this generation. O Lord, I fear I and many others have been building upon a sandy foundation, suffering more out of an expectation of a temporal delivery than out of love to Christ and his cause! The event of the sufferings of Scotland speaks out the truth of this, the sight whereof has made my heart tremble. Therefore, O Lord, I desire that

thou wouldst discover the deceit of my heart in this, with a true sense of it upon my spirit, that I may mourn in secret places for it, and give me thy assisting grace and helping hand in this reeling, fainting, and failing time, that I may be helped in singleness and uprightness of heart, and in sincerity, without hypocrisy or guile, to lay that foundation-stone right, which is Jesus Christ. O come and give thy consent to this covenant and bargain this day! Let thy presence show thy satisfaction in it, that I may win to the faith, that not only I have covenanted with thee, but that thou hast condescended, in thy infinite love, to covenant with me, and hast made it sure in everything. Now, Lord, I desire to enter into covenant with thee this day, in opposition to all the corruptions of the body of sin that I am mastered with. I desire in thy sight to protest against all things in me or my family that are not like thee, and this day to invite thee back to my house on any terms, and do not break us with thy long absence. Come, Lord Jesus, and take up thy dwelling amongst us. We are a heartless company without thee. Come to the heads, and tell us what is our duty, and put work in our hands. Art thou passing by us as one that has no work ado for us? O Lord, I cannot think upon this. Let not our iniquities put a stop in thy way. Come over the mountains of oppositions and put us to duty, and keep us at duty, and dwell with us. I invite thee to come to my poor babes. Let them be of those little children that thou sufferest to come unto thee. Salvation to him that appears to be near his close! Let him have mercy in and through a complete Mediator, Christ. Let thy sympathy and free love be extended towards him, he being one of thy sufferers, wanting the administration of thy sacrament of baptism because of the unfaithfulness of ministers. Lord, thou knowest it was not in contempt of thy holy ordinance that it was wanting, but we could not in our station show, in any more eminent way, our dislike to the injuries done to thee, O Lord, by unfaithful ministers. All their treachery is well known to thee. Lord, break the snares, and let thy poor flock escape; and hasten the day when my kids shall feed beside the shepherd's tents.

I invite thee this day to every soul within my family. Let the work of grace be amongst them all, every one encouraging another in the way of duty, that we may be a little sanctuary for thee to dwell in. I invite thee, O Lord, this day to return to poor covenanted Scotland. Although she has broken covenant with thee, yet thou must not give up with her. Remember thy former loving-kindness to her; and, for thy own name's sake, return, return, and deliver. Are not enemies rejoicing that they have gotten of the sons and daughters of Zion to help them to lay on the grave-stone to hold down the work? Are not enemies crying, Where is the covenanted God of Scotland? and saying, If this work had been of God, it would have stood; so that all the blood of thy people, and the cause of God for which they suffered, is now buried with the mockery of some, and joy of others; but thou, who art the Lion of the tribe of Judah, rouse up thyself, and let it be known to all nations that the covenanted God of Scotland lives and reigns. O that the resurrection of thy buried work were more glorious than ever! Let Zion's walls be built again, so that she may be beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners: so that her enemies may tremble; and her children, who of a long time have been mourning over her rubbish, may rejoice in her comely order, and be compassed about with songs. I invite thee to the poor betrayed scattered societies in Scotland that thou art now justly contending with. The marks of thy displeasure are evidently to be seen in every meeting: an absent God in every piece of duty; love and tenderness much gone; heart-burnings, and contendings, and lukewarmness bred; nothing like a practical work among the most part, or making any progress in the way of Christianity. Is not all this come upon us because our God is not amongst us? O that thou, Lord, wouldst return, and make known for what thou art contending, and remove these spiritual plagues, and let thy Spirit be poured out among the poor sighers in Zion, and let them again behold the King's face in peace. I desire to invite thee to every afflicted and wearied soul that is

tossed and like to faint on the dark mountains, passing through dark steps, and none to speak comfortably unto them, but every one adding to their grief. Lord, appear thou for their help, and shorten these days for the elect's sake, lest they faint under the burden, and put forth their hands to iniquity. I desire this day to covenant with thee in opposition to all the powers, civil and ecclesiastic, that have eaten out the life of Christianity, and [are] standing in opposition to thee and thy precious truths, and engage never to own them till they be for thee. This I engage in the strength of the Lord. I adhere to all the truths of the Old and New Testaments, and to all the testimonies given by thy people for the carrying on thy work. I desire to adhere to the now buried Covenants, and to all the work of Reformation which is founded upon thy word. Lord, help a poor weak insufficient creature to hold by this, vowing and paying vows unto thee. I do this day give up my dear husband and children unto thee, that thou mayest make them for thee, and employ them in thy service, be the hazard what it will. O Lord, take them off my hand, that they may be arled[1] in thy love. In the day when thou goest through the land with the devouring sword, let them get their souls for a prey, and be found within the bounds of the everlasting covenant. This is all my desire. Grace in exercise be their portion. I do this day solemnly enter into covenant with thee, holding up my hands, vowing to be thine, giving myself up unto thee, closing with thee in thy own terms, begging thee to come and put to thy seal to this great work. And I desire that this covenant may be as a staff to hold me up from staggering on the dark mountains. O Lord, help me to have a practice in sincerity, like one in covenant with thee! O Lord, I take the stones in the wall, and timber in the house, to be witnesses that I have given up myself and all mine unto thee, O Lord, this day! As witness my hand at Earlstoun, January 1691.

(*Sic subscribitur*) JANET HAMILTON.

[1] Receive an earnest of.

THE THIRD, DATED AT AIRDS, JUNE 1695.

I, out of the sense of my own weakness, and the great falling away of the generation, do desire to renew my covenant engagements. The Lord has been kind unto me. He has not been a barren wilderness, nor a land of drought. In the day of famine he has fed me in the green pastures. O for grace to improve all thy loving-kindnesses towards me, and accept my weak performances, which I desire to do only in thy strength! O help me to covenant rightly with thee, and to keep covenant vows with thee! I do again give up all that I have unto thee. I give up my dear sympathizing husband to thee. Put work in his hand, that he may be for thy glory, his soul's comfort, and truth's advantage, that we may yet rejoice in thee in the way of thy salvation. My dear brother, I likewise give him up unto thee. His case is known unto thee: thou hast hitherto helped him, and I desire to believe thou wilt continue thy love. O Lord, thou hast given me a little flock! Dear and precious Christ, as thou hast given them unto me, I do freely and solemnly give them back unto thee, and desire that thou mayest dispose of them at thy pleasure. Only let grace be given to them, that they may be employed in their station, for thy glory, and may be kept free of the abominations of the time. Do with them, as to the world, as thou thinkest fit, only convoy grace down to posterity. Let them be pleaders for thee, as I have pleaded for them at the throne of grace. This is all my desire, and would be my comfort to see. O Lord, come this day and smile upon my poor gift, and accept of them. I solemnly stand to all my former engagements, and make a solemn resignation of myself unto thee, and desire to close with thee on thy own terms. O set to thy seal to it, and condescend in thy love to let it be registered in heaven, that whatever may be my case or trials, I may have a covenanted God to run to. Lord, keep me in thy way, and help me to stand by thy truth. I desire this day to protest against all the encroachments that are made on

the right and church privileges. And I desire to protest this day before the throne, against the soul-murdering courses that ministers and people are taking. And I desire to protest against that abomination of the Lord's table after such an ignominious manner. O, poor Scotland, what shall be thy end? Wrath, wrath from on high for your sacrilegious abominations. I desire this day to adhere to all thy covenanted truths founded upon thy holy Word. I desire to mourn over any thing that is in me or mine that is offensive in thy sight. O Lord, let us be wholly for thee. Acting for thee with a perfect heart, I desire no longer to have a posterity than they are for thee. O Father, Son, Holy Ghost, come and be witness to this bargain, and close with me that desire to close with thee, and to be thy covenanted child. Here I take the trees of the wood, and all the works of creation about me, to witness that I have given all mine unto thee, not in my strength, but in thine. O Lord Jehovah, to whom I desire this day to give everlasting praises that thou hast not suffered my table to be empty whilst others are defiling thine, O praise, praise for ever be to thee! As witness my hand, at Airds, June 1695.

(*Sic subscribitur*) JANET HAMILTON.[1]

[1] The following sentence is appended to these Soliloquies in the edition from which this is printed:—"If any suspect this as counterfeit, or vitiated, they may go to her husband, who can show them the principal, all written and subscribed with her own hand."

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

ABERDEEN, General Assembly of 1605 held at, 14.
Aird, William, minister of St Cuthbert's, Characteristics of, 297.
Argyle, Marquis of, 167.
Ayr, Welsh's advice to the magistrates of, 12; the plague breaks out in, 30; extracts from the Records of the Kirk-Session of, 45–50.

B.

BALCANQUALL, Walter, minister at Edinburgh, 297.
Balmerino, Secretary, extract from his letter to King James, 61.
Binning, Lady, Characteristics of, 348.
Bishops in Scotland, James Sixth's establishment of, 13.
Blair, Robert, minister at Bangor, in Ireland, thereafter at St Andrews, 132; is suspended for non-conformity, but afterwards restored, 145–147; sailing for New England, is driven back by stress of weather, 156, 157; John Livingstone's letter to, 262–264; Memorable Characteristics of, 322–325.
Blythe, Henry, minister of the Canongate, 15.
Boyd, Lady, Characteristics of, 247.
Boyd, Robert, of Trochrig, Principal of the College of Glasgow, 32, 35, 131, 132, 134; Memorable Characteristics of, 311.
Breda, Account of the Treaty at, between Charles II. and the Scots Commissioners, 169–177.
Brown, Gilbert, a priest, Welsh's reply to, 51–53.
Bruce, Robert, minister at Edinburgh, 140; Memorable Characteristics of, 305–308.
Bryne, Edward, minister in Bredisland, 146; Characteristics of, 320.

C.

CALDERWOOD, David, minister at Crailing, author of *Altare Damascenum*, and History of the Church of Scotland, 313.
Cameron, John, Principal of the University of Glasgow, his dispute with Robert Blair, 322.
Cant, Andrew, minister at Pitsligo, last at Aberdeen, 311.
Carmichael, John, minister at Kinneucher, in Fife, 304.

Cassills, Earl of, one of the Commissioners from the Parliament of Scotland to treat with Charles II., 169, 172, 183.
Cathcart of Carleton, Characteristics of, 344.
Charles II., his treaty with the Scots Commissioners at Breda, 169–177; his voyage to, and landing in, Scotland, 179–183.
Colt, Adam, minister at Inveresk, 313.
Colwart, Henry, minister at Oldstone, afterwards at Paisley, 329.
Cowper, William, Bishop of Galloway, 89; his letter to Patrick Simson, 95.
Craig, John, minister at Edinburgh, the National Covenant of the Church of Scotland drawn up by, 296.
Culross, Lady, Characteristics of, 346, 347; letters to John Livingstone from, 349–370.
Cunninghame, Robert, minister at Holywood, 158; Memorable Characteristics of, 325–327.
Cunningham, William, minister of Dolphingtoun, Memorable Characteristics of, 341, 342.

D.

Davidson, John, minister at Prestonpans, Memorable Characteristics of, 296.
Dickson, David, minister at Irvine, and Professor of Theology in the University of Glasgow, 6, 139, 140, 157; Memorable Characteristics of, 316–320.
Dickson, Richard, minister of St Cuthbert's, 315.
Dunbar, Earl of, 57, 79, 80.
Dunbar, George, minister at Ayr, thereafter at Calder, Characteristics of, 327.
Dunlop, Alexander, minister at Paisley, 335.
Durham, James, minister at Glasgow, Characteristics of, 332; his writings, *ib.*
Durie, John, minister at Dalmeny, 333.
Dykes, John, minister at Kilrinnie, in Fife, Characteristics of, 312.

E.

Edinburgh, General Assembly held at, 73; tumult in, at the reading of the Service Book, 159; Parliament at, when the Reformation of Religion was ratified, 164.
Eglinton, Countess of, Characteristics of, 347.
Elphinstoun, Sir James, 81.
Erskine, Lady, 74.

F.

Falkland, conferences held at, in 1608 and 1609, 79, 80, 89.
Fergushill, John, minister at Ochiltree, 315.
Fleeming, Bartholomew, merchant in Edinburgh, 338.
Fleeming, James, minister of Bathan's, in East Lothian, 314.
Fleeming, Thomas, 338.
Forbes, James, minister at Abercorn, 333.
Forbes, John, Moderator of the Assembly held at Aberdeen in 1605, 5; tried at Linlithgow for high treason, and banished; settles at Middleburgh, in Holland, 15, 16, 30; account of the trial from his MS. work, "The Reformation of Religion in Scotland," 53-57.

G.

General Assembly of 1642, Commissioners of Ireland sent to, 167.
General Assemblies, their dissolution by James VI., 13; their revival in 1638, 14.
Gillespie, George, minister at Weems, thereafter at Edinburgh, Characteristics of, 330; one of the Commissioners from the Church of Scotland to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, *ib.*
Gillespie, John, minister at Kirkaldy, 304.
Glasgow, General Assembly of 1610 held at, 80; General Assembly of 1638 at, 161.
Glendinning, James, minister at Oldstone, 323.
Glendinning, John, successor of John Welsh in the ministry at Kirkcudbright, 4.
Gordon, Alexander, of Earlstoun, Characteristics of, 343.
Gordon, Alexander, of Knockgray, 343.
Gordon, Robert, of Knockbraks, 343.
Graham, Dame Lilias; see Wigton, Countess of.
Graham, James, Marquis of Montrose, 175.
Greg, James, minister of Newmills, in Ayrshire, Characteristics of, 315.
Guthrie, James, minister at Lauder, thereafter at Stirling, suffered death, a martyr for the Covenant, 334.
Guthrie, William, minister at Fenwick, 335.

H.

Hailes, Lord, his Memorials and Letters, reference to, 60, 61.
Hamilton, James, minister at Baltewater, in Ireland, thereafter at Dumfries, and last at Edinburgh, Characteristics of, 329.
Hamilton, Sir Thomas, king's advocate, his letter to King James, 58.
Hamilton, Mrs Janet, (Lady of Alexander Gordon of Earlstoun,) Account of the Particular Soliloquies and Covenant Engagements of, 495-508.
Henderson, Alexander, minister at Leuchars, thereafter at Edinburgh, Characteristics of, 312; chosen Moderator of the General Assembly of 1638, 350.
Huntly, Earl of, 75, 80, 81.

I. J.

Ireland, ministers and state of religion in the north of, 143, 144; the great rebellion in, 165, 166, 188.
James VI. of Scotland, his arbitrary measures against the Church of Scotland, 13; resolves to destroy General Assemblies, 13, 14; his singular conversation with Mrs Welsh, 42.

K.

Kenmure, John, Viscount, the Last and Heavenly Speeches of, 371-409; conferences with a neighbouring pastor, 383; his terror of death, *ib.*; the sinner's ground of hope, 384; danger of worldly pursuits, *ib.*; deep humiliation, prayer for pardon and grace, 387; hope of recovery induces coldness and remissness, 389; is warned of the danger of delay and the near approach of death, 390; in agony bewails his state,

392 ; gives himself to meditation and prayer, 394 ; his godly counsels and advices, 394-409 ; his death, 409.
Kennedy, Hugh, Provost of Ayr, 30, 301 ; Characteristics of, 336, 337.
Ker, Sir Andrew, fellow-prisoner of Walter Pringle of Greenknow, 478.
Ker, John, minister at Lyne, 314.
Ker, John, minister at Prestonpans, 313.
Knox, John, minister at Edinburgh, the chief Reformer of the Church of Scotland, 295.

L.

Lanark, the National Covenant sworn at, 160.
Laud, Archbishop, 147.
Law, James, Bishop of Glasgow, 133, 134.
Lewis XIII., King of France, makes war upon the Protestants, and besieges St Jean d'Angely, 38, 39 : his interview with Mr Welsh, 40 ; renews the war and takes the town, 41.
Linlithgow, trial of six ministers at, 15, 53 ; General Assembly of 1608 held at, 80, 81.
Linlithgow, Lady, 74.
Livingstone, John, account of his life, 127-197 ; is educated at Stirling, 130, 131 ; his studies at Glasgow College, 132-134 ; his first ministerial labours, 134-140 ; is appointed minister at Killinshie, in Ireland, 140; state of religion in his parish, 142-144 ; is deposed for non-conformity, but afterwards restored, 145-149 ; dissuaded from going to New England, 148-150 ; his marriage, 150-152 ; is again deposed, 152 ; his resolution to go to New England, 153 ; the ship is driven back by stress of weather, 154-156 ; orders for his apprehension, but he escapes to Scotland, 157 ; his mission to London on the renewal of the National Covenant, 159 ; becomes minister at Stranraer, 161 ; accompanies the Presbyterian army to England, 162, 163 ; is sent over to Ireland to wait on the Scots army, 166 ; his removal to Ancrum, 168 ; his account of the treaty with Charles II. at Breda for security to religion, 169-177; conferences during the king's voyage to Scotland, 181-183 ; his share in several important measures connected with the Church, 185-187 ; he appears before the Council at Edinburgh, and on refusing to take the oath of allegiance, is sentenced to be banished, 190 ; departs for Rotterdam, 191, 192 ; his habits and studies, with the state of his health, 192-197 ; his death, 197 ; Substance of a Discourse to his Parish at Ancrum, 199-212 ; his examination and sentence when he appeared before the Council at Edinburgh, 213-221 ; letter to his parishioners before his banishment, 223-229 ; his letter from Rotterdam to his parishioners, 231-254 ; his Letters relating to Public Events of his time, 255-276 ; Sayings and Observations of, 277-283 ; Remarks at two Communions by, 283-286 ; Remarks on Preaching and Praying in Public by, 287-289 ; observations before death, 291, 292 ; Memorable Characteristics and Remarkable Passages of Divine Providence, collected by, 293-348 ; letters from Lady Culross to, 349-370.

Livingstone, William, minister at Lanark, 129, 130, 164; character of, 350.
Livingstone, Sir William, of Kilsyth, one of the Lords of Session, 133; Mr Welsh's letter to, 26-28.

M.

M'Birnie, John, minister at Aberdeen, Characteristics of, 299, 300.
M'Cullen, Euphan, Characteristics of, 339, 340.
M'Lellan, John, minister at Kirkcudbright, Memorable Characteristics of, 331.
M'Lewrath, Patrick, a husbandman in Carrick, Characteristics of, 337, 338.
Marr, Lady, 74.
Mein, John, merchant in Edinburgh, Memorable Characteristics of, 344, 345.
Melvill, Andrew, Professor of Divinity at St Andrews, Memorable Characteristics of, 303.
Melvill, Ephraim, minister at Queensferry, afterwards at Linlithgow, 332.
Melvill, James, minister at Kilrenny, his Autobiography referred to, 58; interview with King James, 298; his character, 303.
Melvill, Robert, minister at Symprin, Characteristics of, 332, 333.
Moncrieff, John, minister at Colessie, in Fife, afterwards at Kinghorn, 313.
Mowat, Charles, 346.
Mowat, Matthew, minister at Kilmarnock, Characteristics of, 335.
Murray, Nicolas, 339.

N.

National Covenant, solemn renewal of, 14, 78, 159, 160; sworn to by Charles II., 182, 183, 260.

O.

Ochiltree, Lord, fails in performing his promise to present Mr Welsh's petition to King James, 29.
Ochiltree, Master of, afterwards Lord Castlestewart, account of his extraordinary sickness and recovery, 35, 36.

P.

Perth, parliament held at, 82.
Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland, referred to, 57.
Pringle, George, of Torwoodlee, 413.
Pringle, James, of Torwoodlee, 413.
Pringle, Walter, of Greenknow, Memoirs of, 411-494; his object in writing the work, 419; his childhood, 421; education at school and the university, 423, 424; meditations on the death of his brother, 424, 425; his marriage, 426-429; praise for mercies received, 430; advices to his sons, 432; is involved in the troubles of the times, 433; his submission to the will of God, 434; friendship for Mr John Livingstone, 435; recourse to the Scriptures for the removal of doubts, 436, 437; prays for a blessing upon his sons, 438-440; family religion, 440, 441; forgiveness of injuries, 442; is imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, 443; duty

under trials, 444; the Christian's walk, 445, 446; a holy life, the best preparation for death, 447, 448; prays for an increase of faith, 449; what man's thoughts ought chiefly to dwell on, 450, 451; the Christian's exercise in the prospect of death, 452; his appearance before the High Commission Court, 453; refuses to take the Oath of Allegiance, *ib.*; is fined and imprisoned at Elgin, 456; his trust in God, 457-460; release from prison, 461, 462; exhorts his children to choose God for their portion, 466; his expectation of liberty to return home, *ib.*; his earnestness in recommending a life of faith and love, 469-475; Conformists and Nonconformists, 476; the freeness of the Gospel, 477; his sufferings and merciful dispensations, 478; the Holy Scriptures the only rule of life, 480; death-bed scenes, 481, 482; he blesses God for preserving him in the midst of danger, 483, 484; a work of grace in the heart of the young is of inestimable value, 485, 486; sufferings for righteousness' sake tend to the glory of God and the good of his people, 486; his confinement changed from Elgin to his own house, 488; praise for God's goodness, 489; his resolution to dedicate the remainder of his days more to the service of God, 490; his letter, written from Elgin, to his family, 491-494.

R.

Reformation of Religion in Scotland, and renewal of the National Covenant, 159-161.

Ridge, John, minister at Antrim, Characteristics of, 328.

Ridge, William, of Adderny, Memorable Characteristics of, 342, 343.

Robertland, Lady, Characteristics of, 347.

Rodger, William, merchant in Ayr, 346.

Rollock, Robert, Principal of the College of Edinburgh, 140, 299.

Row, John, minister at St Johnstoun, (Perth,) 296.

Row, John, minister at Carnock, in Fife, his account of the trial of the six ministers at Linlithgow, 57, 58; Characteristics of, 312.

Row, William, minister at Strathmiglo, Memorable Characteristics of, 297-299.

Rutherford, Samuel, Professor of Theology in the University of St Andrews, Memorable Characteristics of, 320; one of the Commissioners to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, 321.

S.

St Andrews, General Assembly of 1617 held at, 98-100.

Scoon, Lord, 297, 298.

Scot, William, minister at Cupar, in Fife, Memorable Characteristics of, 311.

Scott, Robert, minister at Glasgow, 138; Characteristics of, 315.

Scrimger, John, minister at Kinghorn, Memorable Characteristics of, 308, 309.

Service Book, Episcopal, Petitions against, 159; tumults in Edinburgh at the first reading of, *ib.*

Simson, Abraham, minister at Norham, 67.

Simson, Alexander, minister at Dryburgh and Merton, 66, 303.
Simson, Andrew, schoolmaster at Perth, 65; minister at Dunbar, and master of the grammar-school, 66, 71.
Simson, Archibald, minister at Dalkeith, his writings, 67; sermon on the death of his brother, Patrick Simson, 113-126.
Simson, James, minister at Airth, Characteristics of, 335.
Simson, Patrick, True Record of the Life and Death of, 63-111; his education, and proficiency in Greek literature, 71, 72; minister at Spotkirk, 72; is removed to Cramond, 73; refuses obedience to the Bishop of St Andrews, *ib.*; his removal to Stirling, 74; his ministerial labours eminently blessed, 74-77; his writings, 75-77; his opposition to the change of Church government, 78; uncompromising conduct on the arraignment of the ministers at Linlithgow, 79; is Moderator of the Conference at Falkland, *ib.*; is chosen Moderator of the General Assembly at Linlithgow, 80-82; protest presented to the Parliament at Perth against Episcopacy drawn up by him, 83-88; his letter to the Commissioners convened at Falkland, 90-92; letter to Secretary Balmerino, 92-94; letter to, from the Bishop of Galloway, with his answer, 95-97; he testifies against ceremonial observances in religion, 97-100; particulars of his death, and happy departure, 100-111; character of, 303.
Simson, William, minister at Dumbarton, 66.
Six-Myle-Water, in Ireland, meetings for religious conference and prayer at, 143, 323, 327.
Smith, John, minister at Maxtoun, Characteristics of, 314.
Somervill, Alexander, minister at Dolphintoun, 315.
Spotswood, John, Bishop of St Andrews, thereafter Archbishop of Glasgow, 28, 136.
Spotswood, Sir Robert, beheaded at St Andrews, 28.
Stewart, Andrew, minister at Dunagor, in Ireland, Characteristics of, 328.
Stewart, John, Provost of Ayr, 345.

T.

Torphichen, Lord, 136.

U.

Usher, James, Primate of Armagh, 145.

W.

Wallace, William, 148.
Warriston, Lord, letter from John Livingstone to, 258.
Welsh, John, History of, 1-43; his parentage and youth, 1, 2; his ministry at Selkirk, 2; removal to Kirkcudbright, 4; becomes minister at Ayr, *ib.*; his successful labours, 5, 6; his writings, 7; marries Elizabeth Knox, a daughter of John Knox, 8; account of his family, 9; his gift of prayer, 11-13; his imprisonment, 14, 15; condemned as guilty of high treason, and ordained to be banished, 16; abstract of his address to the jury, *ib.*; is carried before the Council at Perth, 17; his letter to the Countess of Wigton, 18-

26; his letter to Sir William Livingston, 26-28; is confined in Edinburgh castle, 28; his banishment to the south of France, 30-32; becomes minister at St Jean d'Angely, 33; his position in the Reformed Church of France, 33, 34; a Popish friar becomes his guest, 37; his conduct at the siege of St Jean d'Angely, 38, 39, 301; his interview with Lewis XIII., 40; his removal to Rochelle, 41; comes to London, but refused permission to return to Scotland, *ib.*; his death, 42; remarks on his "Popery Anatomized," in reply to Gilbert Brown, 51; Memorable Characteristics of, 300-303.

Welsh, John, minister of Irongray, 10; is persecuted and ejected, *ib.*; his death, 11.

Welsh, Josias, minister at Templepatrick, in Ireland, 9; his death, 149; Characteristics of, 327, 328.

Welsh, Mrs, a daughter of John Knox, 8; her conversation with King James, 42, 43.

Wigton, Countess of, Mr John Welsh's famous letter to, 18-26; Characteristics of, 339.

Wigton, Earl of, his friendship for John Livingstone, 137.

Wilkie, Thomas, minister of Lilliesleaf, 423.

Wood, James, Professor of Theology in the University of St Andrews, 169, 335.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

THE EDINBURGH PRINTING COMPANY,
12, South St David Street.

00111606

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 26 March, 2016